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Representation of a same-sex marriage debate in  
national and international online media reports:  
The case of “In the Name of the Family” in Croatia

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of Warwick  
Centre for Applied Linguistics

December 2019

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## List of abbreviations

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CL Corpus Linguistics

HDZ Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)

LGBT<sup>1</sup> Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans

NGO non-governmental organisation

SDP Socijal-Demokratska Partija (Social-Democratic Party)

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<sup>1</sup> See section 1.2. for the discussion of terminology used in the thesis.

## Declaration

I declare that the present thesis is my own work except where acknowledgement is given to outside sources. I also confirm that the thesis contains no material which has previously been submitted to this University or to any other institution for another degree, diploma, certificate or qualification

## Acknowledgements

There are many people who have supported me throughout my PhD journey and who made this submission possible. First and foremost, I must thank my supervisor, Dr Sue Wharton, for her guidance, support and incredible patience in dealing with my ~~cluttered~~ detailed mind. She was the best supervisor I could have asked for. I am also grateful to my other supervisors, Dr Malcom MacDonald and Dr Stephanie Schnurr, and to all other CAL staff who have helped in any way.

My tuition fees were funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, and I have received support from the Frankopan Fund, which I greatly appreciated.

In the last four years, I was fortunate enough to work with amazing colleagues in Warwick's Undergraduate and Postgraduate Community Engagement Teams, SROAS, Wellbeing Support, Residential Life Team, Warwick Conferences, The Brilliant Club, IGGY, and Trinity Catholic School. They helped me get involved with exciting projects, find a path I am truly passionate about, and grow into a happy and successful professional. Equally important, they were understanding of my balancing act and did not let me give up (although I wanted to, many, many times).

I am immensely grateful to Sherry, Carolin, Ana, Tom, Sixian, Disha, Kyoungmi, Anita, Maria, Heidi, and other wonderful people who listened, offered their unconditional support and made Warwick feel like home. Thank-yous also go to Tony for showing me how strong I can be when I focus, to Emma for teaching me that failure is good, and to Helen and Robb for letting Rolf roam the campus (and bring me and other students so much joy!).

My brother, mother, and grandmother were there to remind me what does (and does not) really matter, and for that, they will always have my gratitude. Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father. *Pjevajući, tata, pjevajući...*

## Abstract

In December 2013 Croatia held its first citizen-initiated referendum in which the voters supported introducing a heteronormative definition of marriage into the Constitution. This study explores the representation of the pre-referendum debate in the national and international media discourse. Two corpora are compiled with the WebBootCaT method for this purpose, one containing online reports in Croatian (455,125 tokens) and another one in the English language (101,381 tokens). Quantitative procedures were used to inform in-depth qualitative analysis focused on three key elements of the representation of the debate discourse: the social actors involved, the contents they debated and the legitimization strategies they employed.

The study proposes a new approach to identifying the social actors in the text, built on the transitivity system (Halliday 1985, 2014) and using verbal processes in the corpora as a tool for locating the social actors as sayers. The qualitative analysis of social actors' representation found a strong polarisation between the referendum supporters and opponents, which can be related to the pre-existing political and ideological divisions in Croatian society. The contents of the debate were split between the private and the public semantic domain, the latter being predominant in both corpora. However, the national corpora reports were more concerned about the legal framework of the referendum procedure, and the international reports focused on the human and LGBT rights situation in Croatia. Discursive legitimization strategies in the corpora were studied based on van Leeuwen's model (2008), and strategies based on morality and rationalisation were found to be the most frequent. Furthermore, 'legitimation by majority' is proposed as an additional strategy, as it emerges in the national and international corpora, encompassing legitimization by authority, morality and rationalisation.

The findings highlight the different role of the media in the national and international context. In general, the study contributes to a better understanding of the issue of anti-minority movements and their construction in the media discourse of post-transition countries, as well as the discourse on direct democracy exercised with few legal restrictions.



## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The rationale for the study and the researcher's position

In 2013 Croatia joined the European Union but also the list of countries that prohibit same-sex marriage. In December that year, in the first citizen-initiated referendum held since independence, the majority of voters supported the change of the constitutional definition of marriage so that it refers to a union of a man and a woman. This research explores the media debate about the change of the same-sex marriage legislation, in particular focusing on the campaign of the group “In the Name of the Family” which initiated the referendum, to understand what such analysis can show us about the interactions between representations of social change and change itself.

Same-sex marriage and civil partnership regulation continue to be a controversial topic worldwide, illustrated by recent debates and legislative changes in countries like the UK, Ireland, Finland and Taiwan. How different media represent debates related to this topic might influence the way social change occurs, as happened in the case of the Croatian referendum, where a group intensely campaigned to elicit support for their agenda and eventually succeeded in altering the highest law in the country. Critical discourse analysis, especially if drawing on substantial empirical data, is fruitful in exploring the relationships between social actors and ways in which social action is discursively legitimised, especially negotiating important social issues such as human rights, regulation of private and family life, democratic governance, and citizen participation.

The debate surrounding the constitutional definition of marriage caught my interest for several reasons. At the time I was working in education, both in the public sector and, as a youth information worker, in the NGO sector. The year 2013 was exciting for us, Croatia was finally joining the EU, ten long years after having applied for membership. I had the opportunity to observe and take part in many projects and initiatives promoting the European values, pluralism, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and non-discrimination. But have we really become "united in diversity"?

In the period preceding the referendum, the Croatian society was an environment where one in two LGBT persons had experienced some sort of violence, and 80% of

victims had not reported it to the police, reasons varying from lack of trust in the governmental services, shame, to fear for their own safety (Pikić and Jugović 2006). It was also a place where 20-25% respondents in public opinion survey agreed with stereotypical statements about LGBT persons (Puls 2009), and where 60,3% of male respondents said they would not like to raise their children in a society which tolerates male homosexuality (Parmač 2005). With that in mind, the existence of the initiative "In the Name of the Family" does not come as a surprise. What did surprise me, though, was the dynamic response and the enthusiastic support of the public, usually so apathetic and indifferent to citizen-led causes.

The debate about the definition of marriage became viral and voicing an opposing opinion, even as a heterosexual person, meant that you were "one of them" and it was an invitation for your interlocutors to question your sexuality, morality, and patriotism. Consequently, I became particularly interested in how the topic of same-sex marriage was discussed in the media and how different perspectives were communicated to the public.

## 1.2. Research objective and research questions

This research project is focused on media discourses about the marriage referendum in Croatia started by the citizen initiative "In the Name of the Family", looking at both the local and global media sphere. The overarching research objective is

- to explore the representations of the marriage referendum debate in the national and international online media reports.

To operationalise this objective and develop a suitable research design, I started off with a definition of *debates* as "events in which advocates on opposing sides of a controversial issue make use of argument and the power of speech to express their own points of view and react to opposing points of view" (Broda-Bahm et al. 2004: 13). As the key elements of this debate, I have identified *advocates*, *controversial issue*, and *arguments and the power of speech*.

Adapting this to the context of my study, I have developed the following research questions addressing these elements:

1. *Advocates*: Who are the most prominent social actors in the marriage referendum debate in the media and how are these actors represented in the national and international corpus?
2. *Controversial issue*: What are the main topics in the marriage referendum debate and how are these represented in the national and international corpus?
3. *Arguments and the power of speech*: Which discursive legitimization strategies are used by social actors in the national and international corpus?

Answering these questions allows for a comprehensive insight about how the marriage referendum debate unfolded in Croatia, and led to the introduction of heteronormative marriage into the Croatian Constitution.

### 1.3. Significance and contribution of the study

The objectives outlined in the previous section address one of the most important events in the development of LGBT rights in Croatia since it declared independence in 1991. Furthermore, the marriage referendum is the first citizen-initiated one in Croatian history. This project contributes to the expanding the knowledge of the marriage referendum debate and understanding of how the actors involved were represented, as well as the topics that were debated and discursive strategies used. The studies undertaken before (see sections 2.3 and 3.2.1. for a more in-depth discussion) approach the topic from the political science and sociology perspectives, not addressing the language used in representations. However, exploring the language, understood as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), is vital for shedding light on the discursive actions shaping the public opinion, gaining consent and dissent, and ultimately, producing the outcome of the marriage referendum.

Regarding the data used in the analysis, the study contributes not only to understanding the representation of the marriage referendum debate in the national media but also offers an insight into the how these events are reported on in the global media arena. Even though scholars suggest the “differences among national media systems are clearly diminishing” (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 292) and there is a trend of

homogenisation in the journalistic culture (Plasser 2005), exploration of the reports in different media and for different audiences offers a new perspective of the events in Croatia, shedding light particularly on the representation of Croatia in the global news. Furthermore, since the corpora are in different languages, this project offers a methodological model suitable for researching data in languages which are not widely supported in the corpus software developments.

Considering the specific questions, the study makes contributions to conceptualising the social actors as sayers in the debates and suggests a method of identifying them in text. Theoretically, the study allows for a more nuanced understanding of van Leeuwen's (2008) model of discursive legitimation, situated within media genre and public discourse.

#### 1.4. The terminology used in the thesis

Throughout the thesis text, I will use the term *LGBT* (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual*) to refer to any groups and individuals who identify themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, allies and pansexual. More comprehensive and elaborate terms which might be used, are *LGBTQA* (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer, and Asexual*) or *LGBTQQIAAP* (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Asexual, Allies and Pansexual*) (Frank and Phillips 2013). When it comes to the term *LGBT*, Sloodmaeckers et al. (2016: 8) note that it "is dominant in EU policies and documents, as well as in the world of Central European and Balkan activism. Nevertheless, we should clarify that this acronym, like other terms, is not without its problems". Binnie and Klesse (2012: 445) warn that it presupposes "a quasi-natural confluence of interests around certain gender and/or sexual subjectivities" and might be reductionist when used in EU policies and documents.

However, I have chosen to use *LGBT* throughout the thesis, as it is the expression which occurs most often in the corpora and which the members of the community used to self-identify.

### 1.5. The organisation of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis contents are organised in nine more chapters.

The second chapter introduces the relatively complex socio-political background of the researched phenomenon. Here I describe same-sex marriage and legal provisions related to it in Croatia before 2013, as well as the direct democracy procedures established in Croatia since its independence. Furthermore, I give an account of the referendum which took place in December 2013, and explain the events that preceded it.

In the third chapter, I outline the relevant literature in the field of same-sex marriage rights, tracing legislative developments from the decriminalisation of homosexuality to the current issues of parenthood and identities. The last part in this section elaborates on the local perspective, focusing on the Western Balkans and, finally, the situation in Croatia.

The fourth chapter offers an insight into the theoretical framework in which this study is situated. I begin by writing in general terms about critical approaches to applied linguistics and then focus in more detail on critical discourse analysis. Moreover, there is a section describing how it relates to this research project, and what its potential benefits and limitations are. Following this, I explore the relevant frameworks for the analysis of social actors' representation and social action legitimisation, offering both theoretical models and previous empirical studies on this topic. Finally, I reflect on how and why CDA can be contextualised in the media sphere.

The fifth chapter of the thesis explores the methodological framework of the project – corpus approaches to critical discourse analysis. I explain the motivation for this methodological synergy, describing the main concepts and procedures applied in such research. Furthermore, in this chapter I present the planned research design of my study. I describe the choice of empirical data and explain the corpora compilation procedure I have employed, as well as the national and international corpora that have been created. Then, I proceed to the research questions and give an overview of the planned quantitative and qualitative analysis to answer these questions.

The following chapters present the analysis and the findings of the study, grouped around three main research questions. Chapter six focuses on the social actors in the marriage referendum debate. It describes an innovative approach to identifying the main actors in the national and internal corpus, by conceptualising them as sayers in the text. It then reports on the different groups of actors and discusses the findings about their representation in the corpora.

Chapter seven deals with the contents of the marriage referendum reports and investigates what it is that the actors involved debated on. The chapter explains the principles of corpus-based content analysis applied to explore the semantic domains appearing in the corpora. The chapter then presents and discusses the representation of the *Public* and *Private life domains*.

Chapter eight explores the discursive legitimization in the debate. It opens with the overview of the methods and software use, and then it describes different categories of legitimization found in the media reports and discusses the addition of the legitimization by majority as a distinct form of legitimization used by the social actors in the national and international corpus.

Finally, Chapter nine offers an overview of the main findings and contributions of the study, as well as a discussion of their possible applications and a reflection on the learning points from the research process. I also explain the limitations of the current study and suggest possible directions for further research in this area.

## 2. Building up to the marriage referendum: The background and the context of the study

In this chapter, I describe the socio-political context in which the “In the Name of the Family” initiative emerged, and all the debates and the referendum took place. The chapter includes an overview of the same-sex rights accessible to Croatian citizens before the referendum in 2013, the relevant procedures of exercising direct democracy and, finally, the constitutional amendments of the definition of marriage which ensued after the referendum took place.

The aim is to present not only the process of changing the notion of marriage and negotiating the rights accessible to long-term same-sex partners but also to illustrate the legal framework regulating the referendum procedure.

### 2.1. Same-sex marriage legislation in Croatia before 2013

“Those who claim that we discriminate anyone are lying. We only want to protect what is the foundation of this society, and that is the marriage between a man and a woman, and family”, stated Željka Markić, one of the leaders of citizen initiative “In the name of the family”, a couple of weeks before the third referendum in the history of independent Croatia took place. The initiative was formed in February 2013, with the aim of promoting heterosexual marriage as the fundamental value of Croatian society and ensuring the permanent legal protection of children, marriage, and family. At first, their activities went unnoticed, but this soon changed to such an extent that in the period from 12<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> May 2013 they collected 749 316 signatures calling for constitutional changes. After consulting the Constitutional Court, the Croatian Parliament declared the referendum for which they petitioned to be legal. On 1<sup>st</sup> December 37,90 % of Croatians cast their vote, 65,87 % of them voting in favour of the proposal that the provision defining marriage as a union between man and woman enters the Croatian Constitution. The months preceding the referendum were seething with public debates and disputes, and, at times, even acts of vandalism and physical violence occurred.

Before addressing the relevant legal framework, it is necessary to mention that Croatia is a secular state, without an official religion, but given that according to the last population census in 2011 about 85% of the citizens identify themselves as Catholics, the Roman Catholic Church has a strong influence over people's everyday lives. The Church's authority was reinforced in the post-Yugoslavian period when Croatia was mostly ruled by political parties with a strong conservative and religious orientation. The decade-long rule of right-wing Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica - HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), ended in 2000 when a left-centre coalition led by Social-demokratska Partija Hrvatske - SDP (Social-Democratic Party of Croatia) won the parliamentary elections in January 2000 and stayed in power for a four-year mandate.

Their short-term rule is relevant with regards to same-sex civil rights since in 2003 they ratified the Law on the Same-sex Unions. Although there were initial tendencies to give same-sex couples fairly similar rights as those granted to heterosexual couples, the final legal outcome was a result of a compromise between the coalition partners, some of whom were more conservative than the SDP. The same-sex partnerships longer than three years provided the partners with some rights related to heterosexual marriage, such as the official recognition of shared material assets, but they were denied others, like the right to adopt children (Reuters 2013).

In the preparations for the parliamentary elections in 2003, "HDZ rebranded itself from an isolationist, nationalist political party into a centre-right party supportive of the EU integration process" (Slootmaeckers and Sircar 2014). The electorate found this new image favourable, as HDZ won the majority of votes and was able to win the 2003 elections, and also the next ones in 2007, although with a less convincing majority. This period was marked by the challenging process of EU membership candidacy, and there were no further breakthroughs in the area of same-sex marriage rights. Due to the dire economic situation in the country and numerous corruption scandals related to the HDZ, especially the arrest of the Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, who was succeeded by his deputy Jadranka Kosor, the first woman to take up this position in Croatia, the support for HDZ dwindled.

Consequently, in 2011 the SDP won the elections and came to power as the head of a left-centre coalition. The pre-election promises made by the coalition included the extension of civil rights for same-sex partners in Croatia (Stuart 2014). The new Prime



Minister, Zoran Milanović, noted that it is necessary to provide same-sex couples with the right to register their partnership legally, but warned that a provision like that would not be included in the current Law on Family, but rather in a separate legislation act (Barilar and Turčin 2012). Milanović explained that such legislation would be in line with that of other EU members, like Spain, and that it would not cause any deprivation or loss to all the other members of Croatian society.

Following this, the Government also started a discussion on this matter with the representatives of the LGBT civil society organisations. As the draft was being prepared, the Public Administration Minister, SDP's Arsen Bauk announced that the law which would be proposed referred to same-sex unions as life partnerships, rather than marriages. Same-sex couples would be now able to officially register, just like heterosexual couples, apart from the use of the term marriage. Another important distinction between heterosexual couples was that same-sex couples were not to be allowed to adopt children if neither of the partners was the child's biological parent (Barilar and Turčin 2013).

## 2.2. Direct democracy procedures in Croatia before 2013

The referendum as a direct democracy instrument was present in Croatia from 1990, however, in a different form from the current one. Initially, the Croatian Parliament (the House of Representatives) and Croatian President (following the recommendation from the Government on the amendments to the Constitution), were the only entities who could call for a referendum. There were three provisions regarding the referendum procedure. Firstly, should Croatia enter in association with any other countries (e.g., the EU accession), this has to be supported by two-thirds of MPs and citizens voting in a referendum. Secondly, the referendum proposal should not only be supported by the majority of citizens who voted, but this number should also be a quorum of the eligible electorate. Thirdly, the results of the referendum must always be legally binding (Slootmaeckers and Sircar 2014).

In 2000, when the coalition led by SDP entered into power and formed the Government, they initiated the process of Constitution amendments through which Croatia, functioning up to that point as a semi-presidential system, has become a

parliamentary political system. These amendments entailed the provision that citizens may start a petition to demand a referendum, which must then be called by the President if the matter in question is of relevance to 10% of Croatian electorate, i.e. if 10% of them sign the petition and in that way show their interest.

With regards to associations with other countries, the EU accession, in particular, there was still the requirement that the referendum has a quorum for the outcome to be legally binding. It was estimated that this would be extremely difficult to achieve:

[i]t was obvious to a vast majority of Croatian politicians and constitutional scholars that the approval quorum for the referendum on state alliances was too high a barrier and that it could present the strongest obstacle in the process of accession of Croatia to the EU. (Podolnjak 2014)

Therefore, the requirement for the quorum majority was deleted from the Constitution in 2010. In January 2012, it was shown that the decision was justified; the EU referendum had less than 44% electorate turnout.

Even though having lower threshold creates more space for the rise of the bottom-up initiatives, it also raises concerns about the legitimacy and democratisation of the campaigns, as the primary actors involved often tend to be members of political elites and civil society organisations, rather than “the people” the outcome will ultimately affect (Butković 2017, Merkel 2014).

### 2.3. The referendum on the constitutional definition of marriage in 2013

The same amendments of the constitution by which the quorum requirements were removed to facilitate the continuation of the EU accession process actually enabled the realisation of the marriage referendum in 2013 (Croatia Week 2013). To elaborate, “[s]ince the threshold for determining a question of significant constitutional importance was set so low, it did not make sense to keep a higher requirement for other, garden-variety types of referenda” (Orsolich Dalessio 2014).



*Figure 2.1: The logo of the initiative “In the Name of the Family”*

In such circumstances, the civil initiative "In the Name of the Family" (U ime obitelji) led by Željka Markić, started collecting signatures on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2013. They petitioned for a referendum with the question ‘Do you support the introduction of a provision into the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia to the effect that marriage is a living union of a woman and a man?’ (Zenit 2013). The initiative was supported by the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, right-wing political parties and other civic organisations, as well as many citizen volunteers. Some studies on direct democracy suggest that the “simple presence of the initiative process, whether by increasing the number and types of groups active in a state or by engendering a more participatory citizenry, may influence joining behaviour” (Boehemke and Bowen 2010: 669). By 26<sup>th</sup> May 2013, they had collected 749 316 signatures, thus passing the 10% threshold which was necessary for the referendum outcome to be legally binding if the referendum was actually held. As such, this was the first citizen-initiated referendum in Croatia.

The petition organised by the initiative In the Name of the Family raised several controversial legal issues. Firstly, it suggested a context in which the Croatian Constitution would be amended outside of the Parliament and regular parliamentary procedures, which is in itself the breach of Section 9 of the Constitution. Secondly, it raised the question of the legal legitimacy of MPs voting against the petition for a referendum which was constitutionally defined. Finally, the referendum defining the constitutional provisions would have effectively been employed to address the issues discriminating against a group of citizens, which is then in opposition to the protection of fundamental freedoms within the Constitution (Podolnjak 2014). These issues were presented in front of the Constitutional Court.

Finally, in November 2013, the Constitutional Court offered the opinion that the procedure through which the petition was organised, signatures collected and the referendum demanded was legal and that there were no legal obstacles for the referendum to take place. Nonetheless, the conclusions of the Court noted that even in the case that the referendum question was answered affirmatively, i.e. the heteronormative definition of marriage was introduced in the Constitution, the development of rights for same-sex partners would not be impeded and that “[r]espect for and legal protection of each person's private and family life, dignity, reputation shall be guaranteed”.

The scholars from the Law Faculty at the University of Zagreb, the most prominent higher education institution in the country, came forward with a joint statement in which they stated that preventing the referendum from happening would have negative consequences for democracy in Croatia and the democratic legitimacy of the Croatian institutions. They advised the outcome of the referendum must be legally binding on all state authorities, as it is determined in the Constitution (Podolnjak 2014). It should be noted that the campaign and public debates that preceded the referendum polarised the political scene and the public sphere in the country in general. Croatian President Ivo Josipović and the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović, supported by the left-oriented political parties invited the citizens to vote against the referendum question.

The right-wing political parties led by Tomislav Karamarko from the HDZ supported the initiative (Beta 2013). Various religious organisations, along with the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church and the Islamic community were also in favour of the referendum. The leader of the initiative “In The name of the Family”, Željka Markić, stated:

It is precisely with an opportunity for the citizens to express their view on such an important aspect of the society as marriage, in a most democratic of all procedures – a referendum – that justice will be confirmed as the very basis of lasting peace in the Croatian society. (U ime obitelji 2013)

Along these lines, Josip Bozanić, the Cardinal and the head of the Catholic Church in Croatia, declared that the President and the Prime Minister, as elected officials, should be representing the citizens who elected them and that by opposing the referendum

they were, in fact, discriminating against the Croatian citizens. He argued that the referendum would be an opportunity to show the citizens that their views are heard and the democratic procedures respected. The referendum was also positively viewed by the Vatican and Pope Francis (Hina 2014).

The referendum's opposition consisted of a large number of Croatian scholars, human rights and civic organisations and LGBT groups. The campaign they were running relied on the notions of minority protection and being close to the 'European' ideals. President Ivo Josipović warned that "[a] nation is judged by its attitude toward the minorities", whereas Jaroslav Pecnik, political analyst, suggested that the referendum clearly showed that Croatia was not 'mature enough' to be a part of Europe and that such an event meant a fascist turn in politics (Kartus 2013). Some of the media outlets overtly opposed the referendum, providing editorial and advertising space free of charge to the initiatives opposing it.

During the same-sex marriage debates, there were politicians and scholars, like Vesna Pusić, who warned that referendum, used in this way, could in future be employed

as an instrument of discrimination against a minority, and that it would be used in the future against other minorities whether by race, ethnicity, political affiliation, or gender. She added that everyone is a member of some minority group at some point in their lives (Hina 2013, Sloomaeckers and Sircar 2014).

Despite this, on 1<sup>st</sup> December 37,90 % of Croatians cast their vote, 65,87 % of them supporting the proposal that the provision defining marriage as a union between man and woman enters the Croatian Constitution.

There are many ways to interpret the referendum outcome and voting patterns of the Croatian electorate. Firstly, the referendum is linked with the political situation in the country. *Jutarnji list* [national daily newspaper] reduced the results to an indicator of dissatisfaction with the current Croatian Government, stating: "This vote is not about marriage or the definition of marriage, this is a referendum against the current government" (quoted in EurActiv 2013). In the analysis of the voting patterns in the referendum Glaurdić and Vuković (2016) offer a different perspective, suggesting that the referendum voting was a proxy for political competition between HDZ and SDP.

Secondly, the outcome of the referendum can be linked with the socioeconomic situation in the country in late 2013. The fact that accession to the EU did not alleviate any of the economics predicaments and disappointment during the first months of the EU membership might have been reflected in the resistance to the ideas and values labelled as European.

Thirdly, Slootmaeckers and Sircar argue that, contrary to the views of the leaders of the Orthodox Church in Croatia, “the minority rights framing by those against the referendum may have found some resonance with the Serb minority in Croatia” (2014: 13), especially in the light of the anti-Cyrillic protests and referendum. The village Negoslavci was titled as Croatia’s most tolerant place, given the fact that 75% of its population voted against the referendum question (Patković 2013).

Finally, it is possible to relate the attitudes towards the EU with the fear of ‘creeping secularism’, explained as “a feeling that gay marriage and adoption by gays was on the agenda, and this vote was an attempt to show that there is strong opposition to this” (Bilefsky 2013). The same-sex marriage rights were presented as an embodiment of European secularism.

However, the change of the Constitution did not put an end to the debate on same-sex marriage rights. As announced even before 2013, the Government continued with drafting the proposal on civil partnership (*životno partnerstvo*) which entered the regular Parliament procedure, after having received unanimous support from the Legislation Committee of the Croatian Parliament – meaning that it was supported even by the HDZ MPs, whose party strongly favoured the referendum initiative.

On 15 July 2014, with 89 votes for and 16 against, the Parliament passed the Law on Life Partnerships of the Persons of Same-Sex (Romić 2014). Apart from entering the civil partnership in front of an official registrar, just like heterosexual couples, same-sex partners and their families have gained many other rights, enabling their social stability. Namely, these rights and obligations extend to receiving a family pension, obtaining health insurance through one’s civil partner, the right and obligation of financial support, guaranteed freedom of movement and other associated rights on the territory of the European Union, non-discrimination and equality in the public and private services market, accommodation, housing and tax-exemptions. Same-sex

partners are now also allowed to take paid leave from work in order to care for a sick partner and also need to abide by matters such as inheritance regulations, custody over children with other partners or conceived in-vitro. Although same-sex couples were not permitted to adopt children, in July 2015 for the first time in Croatia, custody over a child, conceived in vitro, was given to the biological mother's same-sex partner.

The reaction to the new legislation varied from approval and celebrations on the side of the LGBT community, to disapproval and harsh criticism coming from the initiative "In the Name of the Family" (now registered as an NGO), and their supporters. The initiative representatives expressed disappointment with the fact that the MPs voted guided by the interest of their political parties, rather than the wishes of the Croatian citizens, clearly articulated in the referendum in December 2013.

The president of the organisation, Lino Zonjić asserted:

Imposing this Law is contrary to the honesty, the foundational principles of democracy and the Croatian Constitution. It is harmful to children, it is an attempt to relativise the social significance of marriage as a community of a man and a woman and the notion of family, all this with the objective of forcing ideologies into Croatian society. Just like the Family Law, this law is non-expert, ideologically marked and will be a fiasco. (Zonjić, as cited in Romić 2014)

These matters are still of relevance and often discussed in the public sphere, especially after the latest amended form of the Family Law was suspended by the Croatian Constitutional Court in January 2015. Scholars argued that the new law makes Croatia "perhaps paradoxically, one of Eastern Europe's most tolerant legal landscapes vis-à-vis this specific set of rights" (Glaurdić and Vuković 2016: 808).

The initiative "In the Name of the Family" has not only succeeded in changing the Constitution, as the highest law of the country, but also raised many important questions regarding the social values, political governance and democratic practice in Croatia. Therefore, the debate they initiated provides a good starting point for researching and understanding the discourse on social values in modern Croatia.

### 3. Same-sex marriage legislation and debates

The previous chapter presented the socio-political situation in Croatia in which the initiative “In the Name of the Family” has been established. I gave an overview of the existing legislation regulating same-sex relationships before 2013 and explained the direct democracy procedure which was in place, particularly regarding the constitutional changes.

This chapter offers a review of the socio-political establishment of same-sex marriage and its construction in public debates across Europe, drawing on studies from the Netherlands (Waaldijk 2001, Kollman 2017), the UK (Bachmann 2011, Paterson and Coffey-Glover 2018), France (Michallat 2006, Sénac 2018), Portugal (Brandão and Machado 2012) and Spain (Pichardo 2011). In the first section, I address the initial stage of the process, namely, the decriminalisation of homosexuality, as a precondition of further social and legislative changes. Secondly, the phenomena of civil partnerships and other corresponding non-marriage arrangements are explored, later to be contrasted with institutionalised same-sex marriage, as it varies across the countries mentioned above. Following that, I elaborate on the parenting possibilities and how these relate to further developments in the field, explaining how legislative changes influence the visibility and perception of the LGBT communities in general.

The final section of this chapter focuses on the same-sex marriage legislation in the local Croatian context and proposes the contributions of the current project to the understanding of the field.

#### 3.1. The Rise of Same-Sex Marriages in Europe: Main trends in the legislative changes

The twentieth century brought about many changes in the fundamental structure of European societies, the most notable being the reform of the traditional notion of the nuclear family, which has not abated in the twenty-first century, either. The dominant heteronormative model has been increasingly challenged and confronted or even replaced with other, more fluid perceptions of family. Same-sex marriages were and to a great extent still are a highly controversial matter in many European countries. Some have significantly advanced in making the institution of marriage fully



accessible to same-sex couples, while others are still in the process of negotiating terms under which this will be possible.

### 3.1.2. The groundwork: Decriminalisation and anti-discrimination

For a very long time homosexuality and engaging in non-heterosexual activities in European countries have been, not only considered immoral, but also outlawed by the respective Civil Codes and similar legislation, and the LGBT members of the society suffered persecution and ostracism. Naturally, the first step in accepting the LGBT individuals as equal members of the society was to decriminalise ‘homosexual behaviour’. The first country to act in this direction was France, where homosexuality was decriminalised in 1791. In the Netherlands, homosexuality was decriminalised in 1811 (Waaldijk 2001). Spain excluded homosexuality from the criminal code relatively early, in 1822, but, due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church, has long after that continued to enforce the notion of homosexuality as unacceptable and un-Spanish (Pichardo 2011). The United Kingdom and Portugal stopped persecuting LGBT citizens as late as 1967 and 1982, respectively. However, 72 countries around the world still criminalised homosexuality in some form (Awada 2019).

It should be noted that the effect of decriminalisation was in many ways limited and that numerous restrictions on the freedom of LGBT persons remained in force, such as, for example, the different minimum age for homosexual and heterosexual sex, and that negative public attitudes towards LGBT members of the society often remained unchanged. The changes in countries that lagged in terms of decriminalisation were initiated after the emergence of gay and lesbian communities and the beginning of their active social engagement (Brandão and Machado 2012). Generally, social networks and civic organisations have played a crucial role in improving the position of LGBT citizens and drawing attention to the questions of equality and egalitarian access to various citizens’ rights. After placing the LGBT persons within the boundaries of the law, the next step in the development of legislation was to expand their rights, particularly regarding the recognition of same-sex unions.

### 3.1.3. Civil partnership or marriage: Equal but different

Different social groups had varying ideas on how the question of same-sex marriage should be addressed. The political elites either supported or opposed such incentives, and LGBT communities also had differing perspectives on how, why and whether same-sex unions should be institutionalised. There are, of course, some legal aspects which are of common concern to all the involved parties in societies across Europe, and that is, in most cases, to address the issues of pensions and inheritance, immigration provisions and, to some extent, the question of parenthood in relation to LGBT couples.

The Netherlands is the country who pioneered first the civil partnerships in 1998 and then in 2001 marriage for same-sex couples. Kollman (2017) argues that, along with cultural and institutional circumstances, such development was facilitated by “the desire of Dutch activists and policy élites to burnish their international reputation as a social policy pioneer” (Kollman 2017: 100). Furthermore, since 2001 the Dutch government included LGBT rights promotion among their key foreign policies.

Nonetheless, same-sex couples were treated differently regarding parenting and presumed parenthood, immigration regulations for partners and in access to pension funds. Those who opted for partnership, rather than marriage, express aversion towards the latter and highlight that partnership is less binding and more quickly and cheaply arranged. Regarding the latter, Waaldijk (2001) notes that administrative costs are actually the same, and suggests that costliness might be related to the social, celebratory arrangements entailed in the institutionalisation of a relationship; entering marriage has greater social significance and requires greater social rituals than entering a registered partnership.

The analysis of the debates in the UK Parliament on the civil partnership revealed varying approaches which the members advocated: “civil partnership only for same-sex homosexual couples, civil partnership for homosexual couples and also for heterosexual, unmarried cohabiting couples, civil partnership for caring family members living in the same house, civil partnership for all carers in general, or no civil partnership at all” (Bachmann 2011: 85). The views expressed were polarised around two extremes, one suggesting that civil partnerships are essentially beneficial to the

society, just like marriages, while the other perceived them as detrimental and undermining fundamental societal values, such as marriage and family. This is even more emphasised by the fear of further initiatives in this direction, constructed through what Bachmann (2011) calls ‘a thin end of the wedge’ discourse. The notion of uniqueness is also frequently mentioned, both in the sense that civil partnerships endanger the uniqueness of traditional marriage and in the sense that LGBT citizens are a unique group, being privileged by access to a special form of institutionalising their unions. However, as both marriage and civil partnership became available to same- and opposite-sex couples, in 2013 and 2018 respectively, the legislative uniqueness dissipates in the UK. However, considering the media coverage of the debates from 2011 to 2014, the “absence of discussions of marriage equality, transgender identities, and bisexuality, means that same-sex marriage debates ultimately act to reinforce male/female and homosexual/heterosexual binaries” (Paterson and Coffey and Glover 2018: 202).

Political elites in other countries promoted and enforced similar discursive constructions. In the case of Portugal, it took several steps to reach the provisions enabling civil partnership, first cohabitation arrangement, and then the juridical institute called the common economy (Brandão and Machado 2012). In the perspective of the Catholic Church and right-wing political parties, such initiatives reflect the decay of society on the whole and are, in fact, as noted by the leaders of Popular Party in Portugal, only instruments of diversion to redirect the attention from other burning social issues, like economic crisis, high unemployment rates, and similar (Brandão and Machado 2012). The analysis of reports on the debate in the UK also suggests a conflict over the ownership of the marriage which seems to move further away from the Church and become even more secularly established under the state’s jurisdiction (Paterson and Coffey-Glover 2018). The French variation of civil partnership, PaCS, is regarded by the political elites and law-makers as a halfway solution, guaranteeing homosexual couples some of the citizens’ rights pertaining to heterosexual couples, but, in a broader perspective, acting as “a legislative restatement of institutional homophobia for many gay and lesbian French citizens” (Michallat 2006: 305).

Similarly, views on this differ across LGBT communities in Europe. In Spain, a part of the LGBT community is content with the right to civil partnership, rather than

pursuing ‘real’ marriage. Some even prefer civil partnership since it is free of conservative, patriarchal connotations of the traditional marriage. Others see it as a rehearsal period, a preparation for a future life together. There are practical reasons too, like the more straightforward procedure of separation in case the couple wishes to end their relationship (Pichardo 2011). Some, however, see exercising this right as a kind of romantic activism, raising the general awareness of the position of LGBT members of the society. In France, similar divisions are present, and for many LGBT citizens “marriage inescapably represents a Foucauldian style State regimentation of sexual activity and identity” and shorter, more fluid arrangements are much more appealing to the community “who had for so long struggled to assert a discrete sexual identity [to] now invite renewed invisibility within normative heterosocial and sexual codes” (Michallat 2006: 305). In 2013 France authorised same-sex marriage, but not without resistance, “political and social opposition to the French law was huge, with mass demonstrations and a record number of amendments (the highest in 30 years)” (Sénac 2018: 106).

While various forms of registered same-sex unions did to some extent facilitate access to particular citizens’ rights, marriage remains an important milestone on the agenda of LGBT communities in many countries. It is highly debatable if and how marriage could ensure social, and not just the legal inclusion of LGBT citizens, and it is not likely that a definitive answer could be agreed upon. On the one hand, it might be argued that only by making marriage available to same-sex couples will the societies be brought closer to equality. On the other hand, such universalisation can be perceived as an attempt at the dissolution of queer identities and their assimilation into a heteronormative system. Critics of the same-sex marriage argue that “instead of challenging existing oppressive norms, the introduction of same-sex marriage reinforces these and only provides privileges for those that are willing to assimilate” (Abou-Chadi and Finnigan 2018: 29).

#### 3.1.4. Parenthood: The final frontier

Despite the debates on its significance, the idea of ‘real’ marriage is pursued as it is believed to be the key to overcoming the dominant ‘heterosexuality-marriage-

parenthood' triad (Brandão and Machado 2012). Parenthood is probably the final frontier of the equality battle. The majority of countries, even the Netherlands which has otherwise advanced far in this field, impose certain limitations on same-sex parenthood. Within their legislation, there is a difference between different- and same-sex couples in parenthood presumptions for the woman's husband compared to a wife, while other procedures and provisions have gradually become equally accessible.

The situation in other countries is somewhat different, starting from the entitlement of same-sex couples to the use reproduction assistance technologies which is, for instance, still a very problematic matter in Spain, Portugal, and France. In the latter, the notion of biological filiation, a link between a parent and a child, is particularly strongly positioned within anthropological and psychological circles. This means that although the "concept of the 'modern family' should be elaborated, it was just as determined that gays should remain on its periphery" (Michallat 2006: 308), which is especially evident in relation to parenthood arrangements. In Portugal, despite the processes of modernisation and secularisation of the society, the strong influence of the Catholic Church still preserves the heteronormative model of marriage and family. In such context the heterosexuals' biological procreative abilities are equated to parenting abilities and a discourse constructed embodies homosexuality as intrinsically disordered, and, by no means in the best interest of any child (Brandão and Machado 2012), which is of great salience in the adoption procedure.

Similar tendencies are prevailing in Spain as well. Within the current policy framework, LGBT citizens will find it easier to adopt if they not in the registered partnership, especially given the fact that a large percentage of adoptions are international, with children coming from Russia and China (Pichardo 2011). Access to reproduction assistance technologies is not succinctly regulated, so the practices of LGBT patients using these technologies cannot be clearly demarcated as legal or illegal. However, the discourse on a new family, 'the family of choice', is gaining more and more ground and "[m]arriage is definitively not the end of changes to the conception of family in Spain" (Pichardo 2011: 559).

### 3.1.5. Visibility, identity, and further challenges

Discussing the attitude of state towards LGBT rights, Puar (2007, 2013) coins the term *homonationalism* to refer to "a facet of modernity and a historical shift marked by the entrance of (some) homosexual bodies as worthy of protection by nation-states, a constitutive and fundamental reorientation of the relationship between the state, capitalism, and sexuality" (2013: 337). He argues that countries have no way of ignoring homonationalism; through their actions (e.g., adopting and implementing legislation) they can either be seen as homophobic or LGBT-friendly.

While certainly increasing the visibility and raising awareness of the issues of the LGBT community, these changes do not necessarily bring about wider social acceptance. Interestingly, surveys indicate that while "the introduction of same-sex marriage leads to significantly more positive attitudes, the opposite is true for same-sex registered partnerships" (Abou-Chadi and Finnigan 2018: 29). In other words, it is apparent that legal recognition does not guarantee social integration. This has also been acknowledged as a problem and efforts have been made to address; for example, in Spain:

new public policies are being implemented for homosexual people in particular: attention to sexual diversity in the new Education Law, including homosexuals and transsexuals in the National Plan for Equality for the first time in history, recognizing political asylum for people prosecuted because of their sexual orientation, and new departments in some regional and local governments for sexual equality. (Pichardo 2011: 558)

Another important issue is whether and to which extent the LGBT communities wish to be integrated, given that the term assimilation is often present in discourse on these matters, and if it is even possible to perceive and consider the interest of these communities as collective, rather than particular, since they are most certainly not a homogenous body. This inevitably leads to the question of the LGBT identity and how it has evolved and transformed during the legal transformations and changes in public opinion of majority groups.

Within such a complex social context, the negotiation of the concepts of equality and diversity and their juxtaposition becomes even more intricate. As shown in recent

political and legislative debates in Slovakia, the UK, Ireland and Finland, marriage equality remains a matter of great interest in Europe and worldwide, both for LGBT activists and for political elites and law-makers. These debates could be considered in the light of Foucault's (1978) rejection the *repressive hypothesis*, where he argues that presence of public discourse of restrictions and repression in the realm of individuals' sexuality is actually giving rise to the general discourse on sexuality. This is confirmed by positive development trends of the attitudes towards same-sex marriage and parenting, for example, the study by Costa et al. suggest that “the media may have played an important role in improving these attitudes, as the overwhelming majority of participants first heard about same-gender marriage and parenting in the media and/or through political discourses” (2018: 108).

Therefore, the discussion on what equality is and how same-sex couples' rights should be defined and implemented continues in public discourse and is a relevant topic of research.

### 3.2. Same-sex rights in Central and Eastern Europe and Western Balkans

The development and changes in the field of same-sex rights in the Central and Eastern European countries can be explored comparatively, especially in the light of democratic processes following the communist regimes in the last century. Forest (2015) reports on the findings of the QUING project which explored the debates on same-sex rights in Central and Eastern Europe. Employing the critical frame analysis and discursive institutionalism, he looks into policies and legislative frameworks in Poland, Slovakia, The Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia.

The processes of democratic transition opened space for wider discussions in the public sphere, involving new social actors and voices. The first incentives in the field of same-sex rights came from governments and/or political elites, and who tried to conform to the international human rights conventions and standards or to contrast with former political regimes by promoting the social and civil values which were marginalised or prohibited under the latter. In particular, Forest (2015) notes that “first liberalization measures were adopted without raising public awareness nor resolute ideological contention, with little attention for lesbian or transgender people”. The

process of europeanisation is often framed as being in conflict with the domestic values, which is especially evident in the cases of Croatia and Hungary, which both constitutionally prohibited same-sex marriages.

The socio-political context in the Western Balkans can be investigated through the relationship between ethnonationalism, religion and homosexuality, discourses and religious-political models in Western Balkan countries, as well as the implications of these on marginalisation and social violence towards the respective minority groups.

Topić et al. (2014) argue that ethnonationalism, as the underlying ideology of ex-Yugoslavian countries, is based on and developed through the exclusion of particular social groups, entities or individuals. This principle extends to the same-sex couples' rights; the LGBT groups are framed as threatening to the social and national values. Their research focused on relatively few media articles and television show excerpts taken as illustrative of the country's public discourse. In the findings, Topić et al. note:

All the above-stated shows that through uncritical distance the media further contribute to the circulation of hate speech and support clearly established structures of power and hierarchy or, on the other hand, provide too much space for the hate speech, even when not directly supporting such attitudes. (...) The relationship between ethno-nationalism, religion and (especially) homosexuality in post-conflict societies accounts for the operating of religious nationalism, which privileges heteronormativity, provoking and supporting the culture of homophobia. (2014: 262)

### 3.2.1. The Croatian context

Before the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there were fewer studies in this field in Croatia, partially due to the fact that the country is relatively conservative, traditionally Catholic and discourse on homosexuality was, until recent years, fairly marginalised. The majority of research has been done from the perspective of sociology or political science, like Bertoša and Antulov (2012) exploring the appropriation of urban space during Gay Pride parades, or Dekić's (2010) analysis of the queer communities in the online sphere in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.



In a study of the mobilisation for the referendum Dobrotić et al. (2015) argue the key for the successful campaign, with strong religious-conservative agenda, was the democratic framing the initiative “In the Name of the Family” employed when communicating with the public, also framing the LGBT community as threat to the whole society. Several further factors need to be taken into account when considering the context of the referendum and its outcome.

The support for the heteronormative model of marriage was higher in the communities with a higher number of religious citizens, compared to the 2011 census data on the municipality level (Slootmaeckers and Sircar 2014). This might be linked to the fact that the initiative "In the Name of the Family" also received strong support from the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, as well as from the Orthodox Church and Islamic community.

The arguments employed by the Roman Catholic Church and religious-conservative groups steer away from dogmatic interpretations of biblical texts and turn to scientific realms (Kuhar 2015). One of the instances of this approach frequent in the discussions was the strategy of referring to “all studies”, without naming any of these, their authors or specific research designs. The studies mentioned were often the ones widely criticised by the academic community and admittedly limited, according to the authors themselves (Regnerus New Family Structure 2012). Finally, one of the attempts to acquire scientific support was to involve foreign scientists in the debate. “In the Name of the Family” invited American scholar Judith Reisman, which received much attention in the media. Kuhar elaborates that

After one such lecture at the Faculty of Political Sciences, she was not satisfied with the provocative questions posed by the students, claiming that their questions were not linked to the topic of her lecture. She then accused them of being “brainwashed” by communism. (2015: 89)

He suggests that these strategies can be explained as Church secularising its discourse in order to clericalise the society.

The referendum voting choices might also be linked with political preferences, both regarding internal and external affairs. Internally, comparing the results of the 2011 Parliamentary Elections in Croatia to the marriage referendum results reveals a pattern

of support for the latter in the municipalities supporting the right-wing HDZ, suggesting the debate was fundamentally a political contestation (Glaudić and Vuković 2016). Externally, the attitudes towards the EU have often been linked to the referendum and the notion of civil rights in general. Support for the EU referendum and EU scepticism have been found “respectably negatively and positively related to the proportion of ‘yes’ votes in the marriage referendum (Slootmaeckers and Sircar 2014: 13).

### 3.2.2. The contribution of the current project to the literature

Linguistic studies of the marriage referendum debate, especially in the field of critical discourse analysis, have been relatively underrepresented, especially involving corpus linguistics methods. Furthermore, we know little about the representation of these events in the international context and to different audiences. This project contributes to the knowledge on this topic by investigating the representation of the debate in online reports, collected from both national and international media.

A multi-faceted approach to the analysis will allow for a comprehensive insight into the discourse of the debate, as reported by the media. One of the research questions the project is answering is who the social actors taking part in the debate are and how they are represented, which is revealing of different levels of access to the public discourse and to opportunities to influence public opinion and processes of social change. Furthermore, the research questions about the main topics in the debate and the legitimization of different stances will address the representation of LGBT civil rights and human rights in general in Croatia. At the same time, the study will offer a valuable understanding of the ‘translation’ of the local events into a global media sphere, which shapes the international image and reputation of Croatia.

## 4. Theoretical framework: Analysing discourse

Having reviewed the debates and development of same-sex marriage legislation through debates across Europe and describing the local Croatian context, I situate the study within the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis.

This chapter begins by introducing the critical approaches to Applied Linguistics in general, and then focuses on CDA, explaining its main paradigms, value and outlining some of the limitations. Next, particular attention is given to the models addressing the representation of social action and social actors in discourse, as well as discursive legitimation.

### 4.1. Critical Approaches to Applied Linguistics

Critical tendencies within the field of applied linguistics have earlier been opposed or ‘feared’, under the notion that linguistics should refrain from theories and focus on the empirical aspect of language phenomena (Weedon 1987, Simon 1992). However, it was recognised that because of the salience of concepts such as knowledge, power and politics, it would be useful, if not necessary, to “interweave critical theory and applied linguistics to produce a critical applied linguistic perspective” (Pennycook 2001: 26).

Critical Linguistics emerged in the 1970s in the works of scholars such as Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew, mostly based at the University of East Anglia, whose perspective on language originated from Hallidayan systemic functional theory. The objective of their work was “to isolate ideology in discourse” (Fowler 1991, 2013) and unveil its manifestations in discursive structure and processes. Under such agenda, language was perceived as a means of externalising social consciousness and linguistics, as an instrument for “the analysis of consciousness and its ideological bases” (Kress and Hodge 1979: 13). Given that language is seen as an inherent part of social processes, and discourse as dependant on social meanings, every instance of language use is, therefore, considered to be ideological. Such critical linguistics strands are concerned with phenomena like transitivity, nominalisation, passivisation. Critical linguistics is concerned with deeper and more intricate connections between language and society, rejecting a strict division between content and form. The focus is on the study of authentic texts, paying heed to their socio-political environment.

Pennycook (2001) offers a systemic overview of outlooks towards critical frameworks within applied linguistics, taking relations between knowledge and politics as a distinguishing feature. The first position, *liberal ostrichism*, draws on the ideas of liberalism, structuralism, egalitarianism and criticism as objective detachment. It “[d]enies both its own and the politics of language” (Pennycook 2001: 30), and advocates “a disinterested stance of rational enquiry rather than politicized orientations towards applied linguistics”. The second standpoint, *anarcho-autonomy*, brings together notions of anarcho-syndicalism, rationalism, realism and positivism. With regards to relation to language, anarcho-autonomy aims to exclude the political dimension from scientific analyses. Political and scientific elements should not be intertwined; humanist and universalist positions need to be opposed, “to develop a viable philosophical and political background for critical applied linguistics, particularly because of the global and cultural challenges critical applied linguistics faces, such notion of universality and human nature must be rejected” (Pennycook 2001: 36). The third position, *emancipatory modernism*, proposes ideas of scientific leftism, neo-Marxists politics and scientific analysis, and is interested in macro-structures of domination. These approaches focus on the relations between language and the political. While they offer strong criticism, they are at the same time limited by determinism. Finally, within the framework of *problematizing practices*, which usually rely on poststructuralist, postmodernist, postcolonial and similar theories, language is seen as already political/politicised and as such, appropriate for the analysis of the social. These frameworks are self-reflective and constantly question the assumed agenda of critical applied linguistics. In this view, science is often seen, not as a key to advance the critical efforts, but as a part of the issues that are being analysed.

The current project is positioned within the last framework, *problematizing practices*, given that by exploring discursive representations in debates on same-sex rights and values in Croatian society in general, it presupposes the nature of language as inherently political and “understands power more in terms of its micro operations in relation to the questions of class, race, gender ethnicity sexuality, and so on” (Pennycook 2001: 42).

#### 4.2. On Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory, method, approach, movement, program?

Critical discourse analysis (CDA)<sup>2</sup> can be approached within the wider area of discourse studies. Namely, the 1960s saw the rise of this new field of research developing from the concept of discourse – discourse studies. This can be regarded as “the result of the convergence of a number of theoretical and methodological currents originating in various countries (above all in Europe and North America) and different disciplines of social sciences and humanities (linguistics, sociology, philosophy, literary criticism, anthropology, history...)” (Angermüller, Mainguénau, Wodak 2014: 8). Its advancement yielded several critical analytical approaches, including, but not limited to, Norman Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach, van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach, socio-semiotics and visual grammar by van Leeuwen and Kress, dispositive analysis by Jäger and discourse-historical approach developed by Wodak, all of these continuously changing and evolving. Although critical discourse analysis is very significant to the field of critical applied linguistics, Pennycook (2001: 79) warns about the “tendency (...) in applied linguistics today to sprinkle a few references to Norman Fairclough’s work around and thereby to claim that this constitutes critical work”.

When discussing the main principles of CDA Wodak (1996) notes that it is concerned with social problems, rather than language, i.e. “the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (1996: 17). The interest in discourse is actually the interest in how power is operationalised through language use. When describing discourse, she notes that it constitutes society and culture, that it does ideological and historical work. Wodak (1996) calls for a socio-cognitive approach and discourse analysis which is interpretative and explanatory. Finally, she delineates CDA as a “socially committed scientific paradigm” (1996: 20).

The current research can in simple terms be explained as an exploration of a public debate which leads to one social group limiting the rights of another one, and therefore fits within the frameworks of CDA – it explores how power operationalised through language brought about legislation changes which influence the everyday lives of the

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<sup>2</sup> Note that the term *critical discourse studies* (CDS) is adopted in the more recent discussions of the field (e.g. Wodak and Meyer 2016).

entire community. In the particular local context, the study can be considered through the lens of rise of right-wing populists discourses (Wodak 2015).

#### 4.2.1. Limitations, value, and future advances

CDA has received a criticism targeting its methodological shortcomings, and theoretical premises. Tyrwhitt-Drake offers critiques CDA's traditional epistemic position, stating that "[b]eing a critical discourse analyst does not and cannot qualify one individual to say what is right or wrong more than any other individual (1998: 1088). Hammersley warns about CDA's critical objective and "the extraordinary ambition of the task it sets itself. Not only does it aim to offer an understanding of discursive processes, but also of society as a whole, what is wrong with it and how it should be changed." (1997: 245). Regarding its limitations, bias often comes to mind and, not only in terms of researchers' own agenda but the positioning of the discipline itself. Although it follows an interdisciplinary trajectory, CDA still "puts a very high price on linguistic-textual analysis" (Blommaert 2005: 34). In itself, this is not a negative feature, but it leaves the researcher only with the immediately available discourse, i.e. written or spoken instances of language, and diverts the attention from other aspects of the communication process, thus often limiting the analysis to explicitly textually encoded discourse.

However, the value of CDA within critical applied linguistics and social sciences, in general, can be noted in several aspects. Firstly, it raises awareness of the role of language and discourse as "subject to power and inequality" (Blommaert 2005: 33), opening the potential for emancipatory work on language. Secondly, it calls for collaboration between various social sciences and is inherently interdisciplinary. Finally, CDA gives attention to the institutional construction of discourse and examines institutions as key sites of power negotiation and reproduction. Insight into discursive practices which limit freedoms and place individuals and social groups into disadvantaged positions might offer a good starting point in countering them. Although not fully used so far, it is important to emphasise the programmatic agenda and proactive potential of CDA.

In terms of future development, Wodak and Chilton note:

The scope for further integration of discourse analysis with social theory is considerable and continues to expand. Further “transdisciplinary dialogue” (or even “postdisciplinary” research) is needed, for example, with scholars in the fields of political science and international relations, scholars who have often used the notion of “discourse”, and who in some cases are aware of the more language-oriented methods of discourse analysis. (2005: xiv)

### 4.3. Discursive representation of social actors and legitimation of social action

#### 4.3.1. Representation of social actors in discourse

All studies in critical discourse analysis deal with social actors in some way, as the actors are the ones who produce discourse in relation to each other. As it is often the case with CDA, there is a variety of approaches to researching social actors and how they are presented or present themselves within discourse. One of the most prominent is van Dijk’s (1995) socio-cognitive interface. He justifies this approach by the following notions:

- 1) social actors and social action are in their nature cognitive, and involve thinking and mental representation;
- 2) interaction in a particular context is also crucial for understanding social action and actors;
- 3) the macro-micro link is built through group membership of social actors, developed through shared knowledge and interpretation of social action;
- 4) the structure, meanings and production of discourse are also both social and cognitive.

Van Dijk further explains that, as observed through such interface, all language users are members of certain social groups and use the language from particular social positions – in or out of the group. “If the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is a well-known way to exhibit ideological structures in discourse, we may predict that the following structures and strategies of text and talk may typically be ideologically relevant, depending on topic, context, speech acts and communicative goals” (1995: 145).

Table 4.1: Van Dijk's In-/Out-group semantic categorisations (1995: 143)

In-group	Out-group
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
•sentential (micro)	
•textual (macro)	
High, prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No storytelling
Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

The analysis of social actors in discourse often draws on binary models. For example, in the research on European parliamentary debates related to immigration, van Dijk and Wodak (2000) suggest a two-dimensional model of analysis, based on global (macro-level) and local (micro-level) structures. The first one includes identifying the relevant topics in the discourse, investigating positive self-representation and negative other-representation, as well as legitimation strategies. The latter one focuses on local linguistic mechanisms, such as actor descriptions, rhetorical devices, and argumentation.

Exclusion and inclusion are also the basis of van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network (2008), which systematically operationalises analytical categories for the representation of social actors and social action. This socio-semantic approach brings together lexico-grammatical and discourse-level linguistic systems, transitivity, reference, and nominal groups (van Leeuwen 2006).

A similar dichotomous model of representation is offered by Roscigno (2011, 2014) when discussing the institutional and organisational distribution of power. He introduced the notions of *symbolic vilification* and *symbolic amplification* in portraying less and more powerful actors.



#### 4.3.2. The legitimization of social action

The concept of social action legitimacy has been theorised and approached in many different ways by various social science scholars. Beetham (2013) distinguishes between two essential approaches to the notion of legitimacy:

1) prescriptive – social scientists deciding on what can be considered as legitimate

2) descriptive – social scientist explaining which actions or actors are considered legitimate and what makes them such.

Critical organisation studies have also explored approaches to discursive legitimization. Vaara et al. (2007) investigate the Finnish and Swedish media reports on industrial restructuring, focusing on the prices of the merger of Finnish Enso and Swedish Stora as presented in 189 newspaper articles. The initial stages of their study draw on thematic analysis and van Leeuwen's model of discursive legitimization. However, they point out that the latter is intended as a general framework and adapt the model to be more fit for the global media reporting context. Along these lines, they suggest five legitimization strategies, as shown in *Table 4.2*.

They argue “that while these specific legitimization strategies appear in individual texts, their recurring use in the intertextual totality of the public discussion establishes the core elements of the emerging legitimizing discourse” (Vaara et al. 2007: 2).

Table 4.2: A model of discursive strategies used to legitimate contemporary organisational phenomena (Vaara et al. 2007: 24)

	Individual texts	Intertextual totality	Power implications
Normalization	Exemplifies 'normal' function or behavior	Establishes recurring examples	Institutionalization of specific examples
Authorization	Authorizes claims	Establishes recurring authorizations and authorities	Institutionalization of specific authorities and marginalization of others
Rationalization	Provides the rationale	Establishes recurring rationalities	Institutionalization of specific rationalities
Moralization	Provides the moral and ideological basis	Establishes recurring moralities and ideologies	Institutionalization of specific moralities and ideologies
Narrativization	Provides a narrative structure to concretize and dramatize	Establishes recurring narrative and drama structures	Institutionalization of specific kinds of narratives and dramas

Other studies have searched for rhetorical means of explaining the phenomenon of discursive legitimation. Within the frameworks of New Rhetoric, which encompasses more complex devices of convincing and persuasion and links them to broader discourses, Erkama and Vaara (2010), for example, explore the dynamics of rhetorical persuasion. The study in question is a longitudinal investigation of rhetorical legitimation revolving around the closure of Volvo's unit in Finland. Building on previous categories, the strategies and patterns they establish in negotiations are *logos*, *pathos*, *ethos*, *autopoiesis*, and *cosmos* (Erkama and Vaara 2010: 16-17). This model enables not only identifying various discursive strategies but also captures the dynamic of discourse through patterns of legitimation-delegitimation-relegitimation in all five categories.

The process of legitimation also received attention in studies of political discourse. In *Analysing Political Discourse* (2004), Chilton discusses legitimisation and coercion strategies, distinguishing between *epistemic* legitimising, which relies on knowledge and rationality, and *deontic*, which asserts the morality of legitimised attitudes or actions. In a later study, Oddo (2011) explores war legitimation discourse, focusing

on ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ representations in US presidential addresses and, exploring similar sources, Sowińska (2013) analyses legitimising through proximation, assertion-based sequences and thesis-antithesis patterns, focusing on the value of freedom in US State of the Union Addresses. Salama’s (2012) study of Obama’s Cairo speech focused on the intertextual legitimation of pluralisation of social actors. Exploring claims for ‘crisis’ leadership in UN’s Security Council resolutions, and speeches by members of the US administration, and UK and US broadsheet reports on nuclear proliferation, Schnurr et al. highlight the emerging *(inter)discursive chain of legitimization* between different social actors, “operationalized in the creation, maintenance, and transmission of the governance of the world-wide proliferation of nuclear weapons” (2015: 200).

KhosraviNik (2015) investigates macro- and micro-legitimatory discursive strategies in Iranian discourse on the nuclear programme, namely, in from Iranian daily newspaper Kayhan. In general terms, this analysis is framed by the discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis (Wodak 2001, Reisigl and Wodak 2009), which is based on methodological categories such as referential, predication and argumentation strategies. Along these lines, KhosraviNik’s model identifies the specific topics in the in the discourse, investigates the strategies involved and gives an account of the linguistic means used in a particular context.

In terms of exploring discursive legitimation, my research will draw mostly on van Leeuwen’s (2008) model of legitimation which is discussed in more detail in the following section.

#### 4.3.2.1. Van Leeuwen’s model of discursive legitimation

Van Leeuwen sees legitimation practice as offering “answers to the spoken or unspoken questions ‘Why should we do this?’ or ‘Why should we do this in this way?’” (2008: 105). This model approaches the discursive construction of legitimation by exploring its sources, and van Leeuwen differentiates between four main types of legitimation – *authority*, *tradition*, *rationalisation* and *mythopoesis*.

*Authorisation* (Figure 4.1) is legitimation by referring to a particular source of authority. These sources vary greatly, from a single individual to the official

authorities. Authority can be *personal*, in cases where it is related to people because of their status or social role, e.g. teachers or parents are often represented as having this type of authority. *Impersonal* authority, on the other hand, is related to laws, policies, regulations, etc. *Expert* authority comes from an individual's or group's professional expertise in a particular field. This can be noted, for example, in academic writing, where reporting verbal clauses are used to legitimise the introduced arguments. *Role model* authority is of particular importance in campaigns, endorsement and similar contexts, where person's social status is used to extend attitudes or behavioural patterns to the group of others who identify themselves with that social actor. The authority of *tradition* relies on the maxim "we have always done it (this way)", rejecting the opposing notions. Similarly, the authority of conformity is built on the rule of the majority and the ideas of normal and appropriate social practice.

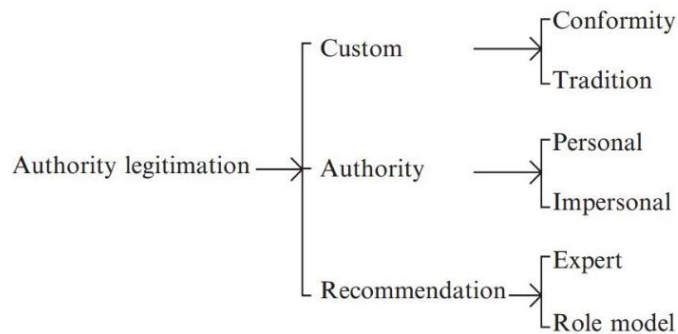


Figure 4.1: Model of Authority Legitimation (van Leeuwen 2008: 109)

When discussing *rationalization* (Figure 4.2) as a legitimation strategy, van Leeuwen (2008) distinguishes between *instrumental* and *theoretical* rationalization. The instrumental one strives to justify the existence of particular social practices and account for the way in which these are presently implemented. In such a manner, social actions can be legitimised by referring to a particular social goal, being a means in itself or as having a desirable social effect. It is important to note that this form of rationalization is tightly linked to moral legitimation, the goals, means and effect need to be morally legitimised in relation to the valid social values. The theoretical legitimation can be employed independently of the moral one. With these strategies, social action is legitimised by *definition*, i.e. objectivisation, *explanation*, which generalises it, and *prediction*, which might be based on expertise. Finally, rationalisation can be *experiential*, which is in its nature pragmatic and applicable, and *scientific*, which can legitimise specialised institutional practices.

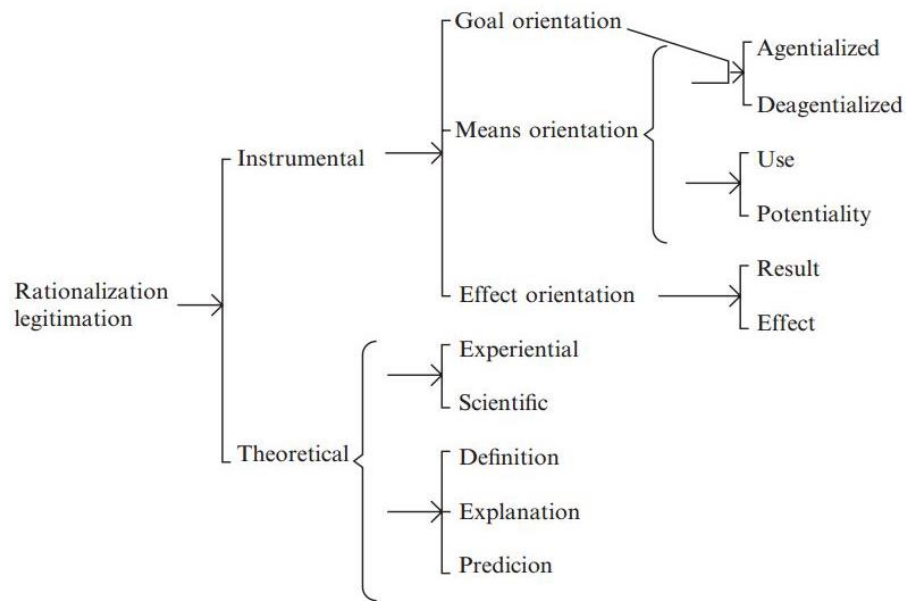


Figure 4.2: Model of Rationalization legitimation (van Leeuwen 2008: 117)

Legitimation by *morality* is based on social values (Figure 4.3). In the case of *evaluation*, social actions are assessed on their social desirability and their descriptions reflect the quality. With abstraction as legitimation strategy, discourses are linked “to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that “moralise” them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values” (van Leeuwen 2008: 111). If *comparison* is applied, the legitimised practice is juxtaposed to an ideal one or, on the contrary, to a less desirable circumstance, relying again on the set of values established in the community.

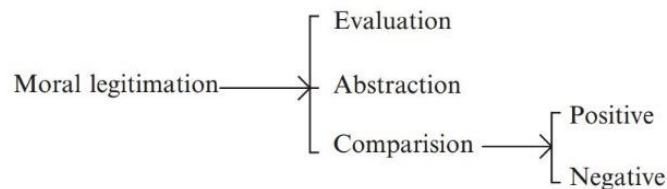


Figure 4.3: Model of Moral legitimation (van Leeuwen 2008: 112)

*Mythopoesis* (Figure 4.4) is the construction of legitimation through narration, i.e. storytelling. *Moral tales*, as one of the mythopoetic strategies, present protagonists who are “rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices or restoring the

legitimate order” (van Leeuwen 2008: 117). These characters are often reported to have overcome many obstacles and challenges but eventually triumphed. *Cautionary tales* do the opposite; they serve to warn about what might happen if social actors do not adhere to the desirable social practice. With *single determination* and *overdetermination*, the desirable practice is presented in specific semantic terms or symbolised/inverted, respectively, introducing what is appropriate and expected of the audience.

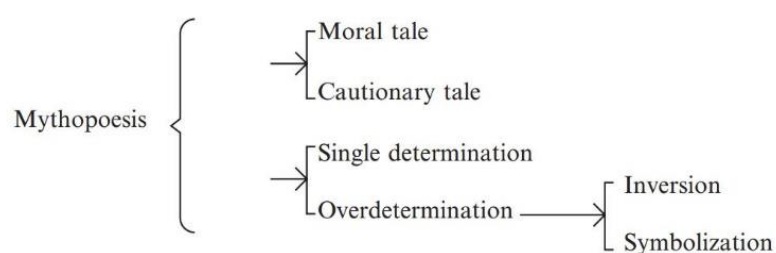


Figure 4.4: Model of Mythopoesis legitimation (van Leeuwen 2008: 119)

Van Leeuwen emphasises that all of these strategies can be altered, combined or used simultaneously to effectively legitimise social action in a different context. When choosing a theoretical framework for the analysis of corpora in the current project, I wanted to have a certain degree of flexibility in the analysis of legitimations. Another reason for adopting this approach is that it provides a scope wide enough to capture the potential complexity of interaction between social actors participating in the debate.

#### 4.4. CDA and the current project

This research study assumes a critical approach towards the representation of politicised use of language by different social actors who were able to access the public sphere and discursively construct their ideas of marriage, sexual orientations, family, democratic governance and social values in general.

In terms of discourse, I focus on the representation of the public communication produced by the social actors such as the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, their opposition and supporters, the LGBT community, the Roman Catholic Church and

other churches, political parties, the EU representatives and others, as well as the media's representation of their discourse. I explore the discourse in Croatian- and English-language media, constructed in computer-mediated channels, i.e. in the electronic media.

My analytical approach will first situate the study within the relevant national and regional socio-political context. Then I will look at the national and international media reports, focusing on this occasion on the textual aspect or, in other words, investigating the discourse as a verbal structure. The socio-cognitive approach to social actors (van Dijk 2005) was applicable for the current study as it built on the premise of public debate by Broda-Bahm et al. (2004) and highlighted the relevant features of debate participants: existing as cognitive beings, interacting with other actors and forming groups based on their shared knowledge and its interpretation, and producing discourse.

Furthermore, from my initial insight into the pre-referendum debate, I have observed tendencies of *In-group* and *Out-group* formation in the public sphere, which happen “either by direct discriminatory discourse in interaction with ‘Others’, or indirectly by writing or speaking negatively about the ‘Other’” (Wodak 2008: 56). Therefore, Wodak's (2008) approach to understanding social actors' grouping is a suitable starting point for exploring the dynamics between the actors in the debate in the present study. Lastly, within the objective of exploring the debate representation, I found it important to analyse how the proposed and undertaken social action was argued for and which means were employed to legitimise it. Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of social action legitimisation fits in with my understanding of the discourse and social action, and offered flexibility in applying both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis (this is further discussed in section 8.2. *Approaching discursive legitimisation*).

#### 4.5. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the theoretical framework in which the current project is positioned. I have introduced the field of critical applied linguistics and, in particular, explored the approach developed by critical discourse analysis.

Further sections revolved around the representation of social actors and legitimation of action in discourse. I have provided relevant theoretical segments and examples of studies employing these. Finally, I reflected on exploring social actors and action representation in the media discourse, given that my study is situated in that context.



## 5. Methodological framework and research design

As stated in section 1.3., this research project is focused on media discourses about the marriage referendum in Croatia started by the citizen initiative “In the Name of the Family”, looking at both the local and global media sphere. The overarching research objective is

- to explore the representations of the marriage referendum debate in the national and international online media reports.

This objective is operationalised through the following research questions:

1. Who are the most prominent social actors in the debate and how are they represented in the national and international corpus?
2. What are the main topics in the marriage referendum debate and how are these represented in the national and international corpus?
3. Which discursive legitimization strategies are used in the debate by the social actors in the national and international corpus?

This chapter explains the methodological framework of the study and research design developed to answer these research questions.

The first part of the chapter addresses the advantages, as well as the challenges, of corpus approaches to discourse analysis. To start with, it aims to provide a brief overview of the development of corpus linguistics and its increasing connection with discourse studies, as well as the benefits of using these two approaches, in the current project.

The second part offers an overview of the research design. It describes the methodological approaches to the current project, offering information on the choice of the data to be analysed in the study and giving an account of the selected corpus compilation strategies. There are also details of the compiled corpora and the software used. The final section in the chapter the planned steps in the quantitative and qualitative procedure and showcases the starting point of the corpora analysis for chapters 6 and 7.

## 5.1. Corpus approaches to discourse analysis

### 5.1.1. Corpus linguistics. “A discipline, a methodology, a paradigm or none or all of these?”

The term *corpus* refers to a collection of machine-readable texts, representative of a particular language variety, balanced and produced in a natural communication environment (Gilquin and Gries 2009: 6). Corpus-based studies have been designed and implemented since the nineteenth century, but their number significantly increased only in the second half of the twentieth century, when computers became available to a wider range of the population (Baker 2006). The first corpus research was related to early language acquisition, lexicography, forensic linguistics and language teaching. The term *corpus linguistics* was first used by Aarts and van den Heuvel (1982), Aarts noting hesitation in coining the term “because we thought (and I still think) that it was not a very good name: it is an odd discipline that is called by the name of its major research tool and data source. Perhaps the term has outlived its usefulness by now” (Aarts, in Belmore 1998).

This indeed proved challenging because the understanding of corpus linguistics varies greatly among different scholars, from “a tool, a method, a methodology, a methodological approach, a discipline, a theory, a theoretical approach, a paradigm (theoretical or methodological), or a combination of these” (Taylor 2008: 179). Such conceptual variation makes it further challenging to adopt “a standardised set of approaches to data” (Taylor and Marchi 2018: 2).

While some defined it as “a new research enterprise, and in fact a new philosophical approach to the subject” (Leech 1992: 106), and “not merely a tool of analysis but an important concept in linguistic theory” (Stubbs 1993: 24), others suggest it is a methodology (McEnery and Wilson 1996, Meyer 2002, Bowker and Pearson 2002, McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006). Chomsky, for example, criticises it by noting “that we learn more about language by following the standard method of the sciences. The standard method of the sciences is not to accumulate huge masses of unanalyzed data and to try to draw some generalization from them” (2004: 97). There is also a disagreement on whether corpus linguistics should be seen as closely related to social

sciences and humanities (Teubert 2005) or rather to ‘hard sciences’ (McCarthy 2001). Such diversity is not necessarily a weakness and, as Teubert optimistically notes, “[o]nly if the discourse of corpus linguistics remains controversial and pluralist will there be progress” (2005: 13).

However, in the context of linking corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis, it would be useful to make a distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven linguistics. Drawing on Tognini-Bonelli’s (2001) categorisation, corpus-based studies take corpus linguistics to be a method and use corpus data to explore a particular issue or to confirm and/or challenge certain hypotheses. Corpus-driven studies, on the other hand, rely on the corpus data to provide theoretical insight and not just methodological support, and these tend to perceive corpus linguistics as a discipline, rather than a methodology. If CDA scholars begin their studies with particular research questions in mind and explore these, CDA studies usually fall into the corpus-based category. This is true of the current project, as well since my data collection and analysis, were guided by pre-set research questions and objectives.

#### 5.1.2. Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics

In the second half of the 1980s van Dijk first suggested that “[o]nly the work of large teams or, in future, of computers would enable the qualitative analysis to be quantified” (1988: 66), but the first ventures of critical discourse analysts into corpus linguistics happened only in the mid-1990s (Caldas-Coulthard 1993, Fox 1993, Louw 1993, Stubbs 1992, Stubbs and Gerbig 1993), the most notable being Hardt-Mautner’s (1995) project “The EC/EU Debate in the British Daily Press”, followed by the “Only Connect” paper in which she suggests the following procedure for successful integration of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics:

- a. On the one hand, the qualitative analysis of individual texts reveals ‘loaded’ items whose collocational behaviour (including its aura of meaning, or ‘semantic prosody’; see Section IV.B.3) can then be investigated using the larger corpus held in the computer.

b. On the other hand, ‘roaming’ in the computerized corpus draws the analyst’s attention to certain items or collocational patterns which can then also be studied qualitatively in their larger textual environments.

c. In addition, the findings resulting from both (a) and (b) can be compared with evidence from larger corpora such as newspapers on CD-ROM, the COBUILD corpus (Birmingham) or the BNC (Lancaster). (1995: 24)

The extent to which corpus linguistics methods are used varies; as Partington (2003: 12), words it: [a]t the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded.

#### 5.1.3. CDA and corpus linguistics in the current project

Given that the current project is concerned with exploring the representation of the overall debate in the media sphere corpus, the corpus linguistics approach to discourse analysis was chosen as it allowed for both the analysis of general trends in larger sets of data, as well as more in-depth analysis of particular samples. Having insight into larger sets of data would enable me to see, not just the predominant discursive constructions, but also the examples that oppose or challenge them and how these relations change through time (Baker 2006). Corpus findings might also indicate changes in meaning in particular contexts.

Furthermore, applying corpus linguistics methods helps to recognise discourse as an incremental phenomenon, and revealing the possible ideological background and its cumulative effect. As Stubbs (2001: 215) notes, “[r]epeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype”.

Marko (2008: 92) argues that corpus linguistic methods are effective in making critical discourse analysis more systematic, transparent and accessible to other scientific disciplines. The addition of corpus methods allows for *triangulation* (Newby 1977),

which increases the validity of hypotheses being tested, strengthens the interpretation of findings and allows for flexibility throughout the research process, so as to manage potential risks in obtaining and processing data (Layder 1993). Considering that, as a critical discourse study, the current project inevitably takes a stance towards the phenomena and language of social change explored, the use of corpus linguistics methods helps to limit potential research bias and increase the degree of generalisability of the findings.

## 5.2. Research data

The first section explains the considerations researchers need to make when choosing or compiling corpora, from the type of data, criteria for selection, number of corpora, etc. Examples of studies are shown to illustrate different options in research design.

The second section describes the choice of data for the current project, followed by an overview of the corpora compilation process and description of the corpora. I have also included ethical considerations related to the research data management in this project.

### 5.2.1. Choosing and/or compiling corpora

The choice of the corpus, “a collection of machine-readable texts, representative of a particular language variety, balanced and produced in a natural communication environment” (Gilquin and Gries 2009: 6), is one of the fundamental decisions each researcher makes when designing their study. This decision will mostly depend on the research problem to be addressed and the set research objectives. In some cases, when authors wish to look at recurring patterns in language and make generalisations about particular phenomena, large, already available corpora, such as British National Corpus, American National Corpus, Bank of English, etc. are the most convenient solution.

However, the emphasis of the research might be on a particular variety of language, so working with samples of only spoken or written language, or choosing texts from certain disciplines, produced by certain groups of users, i.e. employing a *specialised*

corpus (Baker 2006) would offer a more focused insight. In many cases, though, researchers choose to build their own corpora. Such *ad hoc corpora* are “created with a specific use at a concrete moment: collecting in the smallest space at the largest possible amount of certain documents” (Valero Garcés 2006: 452).

#### 5.2.1.1. *Size, sources, compilation*

Depending on the particular research topic and questions, corpora can greatly vary in size, source and type of texts. For instance, as a very extreme example of a small corpus study, De Beaugrande (2001), analyses a corpus compiled from a single academic paper by Widdowson (2000). Dongmei (2013) looks at two corporate social responsibility reports by British company BP, preceding and following a massive environmental disaster. Bachmann (2011) compiles a 319,900 token corpus of parliamentary debates on civil partnership in the UK, Lukač (2011) investigates a 222,464 token corpus of blog posts promoting eating disorders, whereas Baker et al. (2008) work with a 140 million words corpus of newspapers texts.

The variety in the size of these corpora illustrates the complexity of this aspect of compiling. Every researcher faces the challenge of building a corpus which is large enough to be sufficiently representative, but also analytically manageable. This is especially the case with CDA researchers, who will, apart from using different computerised quantifying procedures offered by the software of their choice, also employ various qualitative methods, which inevitably entail manual analysis. While for studies of prosody 100,000 token corpora are suggested as satisfying, 500,000 for verb morphology (Kennedy 1998), and 1000,000 for grammatical studies (Biber 1993), lexicographical studies, on the contrary, would probably require much larger corpora (Baker 2006). As demonstrated above, CDA studies corpora vary in size, and, obviously, it is possible to engage critically with much smaller corpora than in some other disciplines, Baker elaborates:

[w]hen building a specialized corpus for the purposes of investigating a particular subject or set of subjects, we may want to be more selective in choosing our texts, meaning that the quality or content of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity. (2006: 28)

The sources of corpus data also vary greatly. However, some pronounced affinities may be observed among CDA researchers. Media are frequently under scrutiny, because, as Fairclough notes,

[t]he hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of (...) power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth. (1989: 54)

It can be argued that, for instance, “[e]ach newspaper generates its own idiom, creates a version of the language of the segment of population to whom it is addressed and for whom it creates a suitable public rhetoric” (Ruiz and Bataller 2010: 174), and that “[n]ewspaper and reader negotiate the significance of the text around the stipulations of the appropriate discourse” (Fowler 1991: 44). Therefore, various media channels, such as print press (Baker et al. 2008, Ruiz and Bataller 2010) or electronic media like blogs or online forums (Lukač 2011, Potts and Semino 2017) are often interesting corpora sources for CDA scholars.

Another noticeable tendency in the corpus-based CDA studies is exploring language produced by social (political, economic, religious, etc.) elites, especially official, institutional documents. In the context of CDA, such instances of language are of special salience, and often, apart from regulative features, exhibit what Mulderrig (2011a: 47) calls *soft power*, which “would appear to be more capable (than coercion) of absorbing potential opposition by instead offering choice, opportunity, possibility and so forth. For this reason, soft power rests to a greater degree on individual volition, which in the context of policy-making would seem to be more intrinsically democratic”. In particular, Mulderrig (2008, 2011a, 2011b) analyses discursive trends in New Labour’s education policy rhetoric. Similarly, MacDonald and Hunter (2013) explore the security discourse in counter-terrorism related official documents published in the later years of the New Labour government. Bachmann (2011) builds his corpus from transcripts of parliamentary debates in the House of Commons and House of Lords and Kamasa (2013), on the other hand, investigates documents published on the official site of the Commission of the Polish Episcopate.

In corpus-assisted studies, researchers interested in media, particularly in news reports discourse, have additional data-related issues to consider. Duplication and text re-use is a common phenomenon with textual data sets (Schofield et al. 2017), and particularly pertinent to the journalistic domain. As Clough (2001: 30) elaborates:

[b]ecause a newspaper is unlikely to have the time or resource to cover all the core news themselves, dependence will inevitably rely on news agencies to supply real-time news. A journalist or editor may rely on the newswire for copy tasting, that is to find out the main stories of the day, determine which should be included in the current newspaper edition and verify facts of stories.

Therefore, the newswire agencies such as UK Press Association, US Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France-Presse and similar cover events worldwide and on the regional and local level and disseminate these to paying media houses, which publish these without or without disclosing their sources.

If the text reuse is present, it is up to the researcher to choose whether or not to include the derived texts, to discover which texts are reused (i.e. which is the source text and which the targets) and how to account for this type of media coverage. In section 5.2.3., I explain the choice made regarding the inclusion of duplicates in the corpora for the current study.

#### 5.2.2. Choice of data sources for the current project: Media discourse

Media reports were selected as the source of empirical data for this study, guided by the research objectives being focused on the representation of the debate.

The media play an increasingly important role in constructing the overall public discourse and, as van Dijk (1988: x) notes, “journalists are considered part of a dominant, cultural elite who often contribute unwittingly to the expression and legitimization of the national and international power structures”. He further elaborates on the power relations in discourse, noting that more powerful social groups and actors have preferential access to important or influential discourses and that they may control it “by setting or selecting time and place, participants, audiences, possible speech acts (such as commands or requests), agendas, topics, choice of language, style,



strategies of politeness or deference, and many other properties of text and talk” (1996: 12). In other terms, the larger the portion of discourse the social actors control, the more social power they possess. Paterson and Coffey-Glover note that the people consumption of the media contents “has the ability to influence public opinion and inform the stances that individuals take” (2018: 177). This is of particular importance for discourses on controversial topics, like the definition of marriage that the current project is looking at.

To illustrate, studies on attitudes towards same-sex marriage and adoption legislation in Portugal show that these are increasingly positive among young adults and that majority of the participants first heard about these topics thorough media an political discourse (Costa et al. 2018). On the contrary, in relation to the topic of immigration, it is noted that “reporting and commentary about asylum seekers and refugees is often hostile, unbalanced and factually incorrect” (UK Refugee Council, cited in Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), and that media more often play the role of a servant, rather than a watchdog, of the dominant ideologies pertaining to the majority groups (Kim 2012). However, it is worth noting that the media can, at least to some extent, be engaged in two-way communication with their audience, and offer space for addressing the issues connected to the concerns and attitudes of the audience. The media sphere also includes the voices of minority groups raised through their own media outlets, as well as voices of organisations and institutions supporting their agenda, which is less frequently in the focus of CDA studies.

When discussing media text writers, Vaara et al. (2007) suggest that the way they construct the discourse is not deliberate or conscious. These people are often affected by the predominant discursive practices and keen on staying within the familiar frameworks of writing. The media industry is characterised by “conditions of asymmetrical information”, and its employees frequently have limited resources. Therefore,

journalists can easily become agents of legitimation or relegitimation fed by corporate communication departments, without being aware of the reasons for and consequences of their actions and without a grasp of the totality of which they are a part (Vaara et al.2007: 24)

However, it is noted that media do present multiple, sometimes contrasting, perspectives as well which can increase their credibility with the audience.

With regards to the proposed study, two significant aspects should be noted in terms of media representations of the initiative “In the Name of the Family”. Firstly, on the national level, the leadership of the initiative was in conflict with the media representatives, resulting in temporary censorship from one side and boycott from the other. Secondly, on the international level, Croatia as the newest member of the European Union and a tourism-oriented country, deeply affected by the economic crisis, had never been under greater strain to create a positive image on the international stage. Consequently, the media discourse becomes even more relevant and compelling for research.

My aim was to create a substantial body of online reports, both from Croatian media and from the media of English-speaking countries which have reported on the Croatian same-sex marriage debate and the constitutional referendum which followed. I have decided to focus on the online reports because they were more numerous and targeted at a wider audience. It was more time-efficient practical to collect the data available online (especially in the case of international texts), as well as to compile process and store it.

Using two or more specialised corpora allows for a contrastive study, like the one undertaken by Ruiz and Bataller (2010) who compare same-sex marriage naming practises in two corpora compiled from Spanish and UK newspapers. Another example of a contrastive study is one by Potts and Semino (2017) on the use of violence metaphors in the discourse on end-of-life care. They compiled a US counterpart of the earlier created UK corpus of online writings by medical care professionals, to analyse and compare the use of violence metaphors. Apart from the Croatian media reports, I also decided to explore the ones published in English, so I would get an insight into foreign and, to some extent, international views on this debate.

I was aware that the two corpora would certainly vary in size and that the international one would be very heterogeneous in terms of text origins. Sections 5.4.3. *Research procedures in quantitative and qualitative analysis*, 6.2. *Approaching social actors*

and 7.2. *Approaching the main topics in the media debate* explain in more detail how these differences have been addressed in the analysis.

### 5.2.3. Corpus compilation for the current project

The current project draws on two corpora to investigate the coverage of the marriage referendum debate in the local and global context, and in the compilation process, the reports were categorised by the use of seed words in Croatian and English language which will be discussed further in this section. The current study is comparative in the sense that the analysis was guided by the same research questions for both the national and international corpus, rather than being a bottom-up comparative study.

The data for this study were collected with BootCaT method (Baroni and Bernardini 2004) which offers a time-efficient and systematic approach to corpus building. WebBootCaT is an open source software toolkit, freely available and integrated within Sketch Engine and accessible to its registered users. It consists “a suite of perl programs implementing an iterative procedure to bootstrap specialized corpora and terms from the web” (Baroni and Bernardini 2004).

The WebBootCaTing procedure (*Figure 5.1*) starts off by the user choosing seed words – queries for the web search. These are then randomly grouped in tuples (sets of search queries) and sent to the search engine. Apart from the seed words, the user can add one or more blacklist words (meaning that query will not return any texts containing these) or whitelist words (all the texts returned will include these). The query will result in a list of URLs which the user can either include or reject in the corpus compilation procedure. There is also an option of removing the duplicate contents from the corpora, e.g. on paragraph or file level. This was of particular importance for compiling my international corpus, due to the frequent occurrence of text reuse, which I have noted when first exploring the debate.

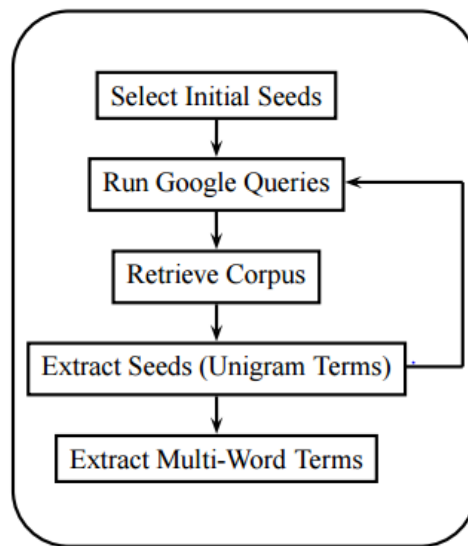


Figure 5.1: The BootCaT flow (Baroni and Bernardini 2004)

When compiling the corpora for the current project, I chose the following seed words:

- Croatian corpus: “*U Ime Obitelji*” [“*In the Name of the Family*”], “*Željka Markić*”, *brak* [marriage], *obitelj* [family], *gay*, *istospolni*[same-sex], *ustav* [constitution], *definicija* [definition], *referendum*.
- English corpus: “*In the Name of the Family*”, “*Željka Markić*”, *gay*, *same-sex*, *marriage*, *family*, *constitution*, *definition*, *referendum*.

To ensure that all of the returned URLs would be relevant, I added ‘Croatia\*’ as a whitelist keyword for the English corpus. The queries returned lists of URLs which I then manually explored, therefore directly controlling which contents would be included in the corpora.

Given that my research aims relate to representation in the media articles, I decided to reject any results which did not fall within the informative category. To exemplify, I removed all the URLs leading to Facebook posts and comments, YouTube videos, forums discussions, and similar (Appendices II and III). While I do recognise that that social media channels are also relevant social representation and construction sites, within this project, I have narrowed my interests to the online reports. Also, I have focused on the period between 2013 and 2014.

These data collection procedures resulted in a seemingly eclectic range of sources included, from mainstream to minority media, but my aim was to collect as many different perspectives from the media sphere as possible. In the stage of qualitative analysis, I was able to further distinguish between these and compare them.

Text reuse phenomenon was considered when compiling the corpora for current research, as some initial research showed that some texts disseminated by newswire agencies were published by several media, and also that parts of text like statements by politicians and official body are frequently cited in reports. Even though it may be argued that the exact copies published through different channels might have different impact on different audiences, but the main focus of the study was on the representation within the reports. Additionally, given the size of the corpora, having complete duplicates of reports would have skewed the findings of the quantitative analysis. Therefore, before compiling the corpora from the text found on the URLs, I selected the option of removing all the duplicates *on the file level* (see sections 5.3.1.1-3. for in depth discussion on this), excluding only complete duplicates. In practical terms, that means that all the articles which are copies will not be included in the corpora. In cases where parts of articles are repeated, like quoted politicians' statements, these articles were retained.

#### *5.2.3.1. Size and representativeness*

The corpora yielded through WebBootCaTing are relatively small. The national reports corpus has 689 files, with 455,125 tokens and 379,017 words in total, and the international one 165 files, totalling 101,381 tokens 86,118 words. However, by personally setting the seed words and manually selecting the URLs, i.e. files to be included in the corpora, I ensured that all the content is relevant and related to the social action I am researching. To illustrate, there were cases where articles did contain a reference to the Croatian referendum, but the main focus was on another topic, I excluded the file. Given that the corpora are specialised on a particular case study in a country as small as Croatia, it might also be argued that they are sufficiently representative of the media discourse produced about the events in question.

The process of creation of corpora for the current project has been guided by the idea of capturing the online texts reporting on the marriage referendum debate in Croatian media, as well as its coverage on a global level, published in the international media. Given that texts were gathered automatically, there were no targets regarding the number of tokens, but the focus was on collecting texts which meet the set criteria.

### 5.3. Key concepts and procedures of studies using corpus approaches to CDA

In this section, I look at the process of corpus compilation and the concepts of frequencies, collocations and concordance, wordlists, , which most frequently appear in studies employing such a combined approach (e.g. Krishnamurty 1996; Piper 2000, Baker and McEnery 2005; Orpin 2005; Baker et al. 2008, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon 2010; O'Halloran 2010; Mulderrig 2011, Potts and Semino 2017).

The theoretical part is followed by practical examples of corpus-based CDA studies exploring representations of refugees, asylum seekers and (im)migrants (Baker et al. 2008), governmental policies on education (Mulderrig 2011a, 2011b, 2008), globalisation (L'Hôte 2010), security and counter-terrorism discourse (MacDonald and Hunter 2013), constructions of *in vitro* fertilisation in Catholic Church official statements (Kamasa 2013), metaphors in end-of-life care (Potts and Semino 2017) and parliament (Bachmann 2011) and media debates (Ruiz and Bataller 2010) on the same-sex marriage legalisation. Lastly, I consult studies looking at corpora compiled from corporate social responsibility reports (Dongmei 2013) and pro-eating disorder blogs (Lukač 2011).

### 5.4. Frequencies, concordances, collocations

After building and preparing the corpus (or corpora), a majority of researchers approach the quantitative part of the analysis. There are many critical notions related to this analytical approach in corpus linguistics, such as “that it is 'only' a quantitative methodology, leading to a list of objections: frequencies can be reductive and generalizing, they can oversimplify and their focus on comparing differences can

obscure more interesting interpretations of data”, so it is interesting to explore how various CDA studies approach the corpus at this stage.

#### 5.4.1. Word lists

Word lists present list of all types, i.e. different words (whereas, number of tokens is the total number of all words) in the corpus, sorted by their frequency and accompanied by the number of times they appear and their percentage in the whole corpus. In a great number of corpora, grammatical (function) words are most frequently found, but often CDA researchers will be more interested in the most frequent lexical words. At this point, the process of lemmatisation is very useful, as it adds up the frequencies of inflected forms of words, and offers a more realistic insight into word frequencies in the corpus. Comparison of word lists between specialised and reference corpus could also yield some interesting discoveries. It is important to keep in mind that “[n]o terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position” Stubbs (1996: 107).

Paying heed to this, CDA studies investigate frequencies, often immediately focusing on the expressions they are particularly interested in. Therefore, Ruiz and Bataller (2010) look at frequencies of different references to same-sex relationships, like *homosexual couples*, *civil partnership*, *gay marriage*, etc. Lukač (2011) firstly investigated terms used for eating disorders, and finds the following tokens on her word list: *ana*, *eating disorder*, *anorexia*, *mia*, *anorexic*, *ED*, *bulimic* and *bulimia*, and secondly, found that most frequent ‘outsiders’(people who do not belong to the pro-eating-disorder community) on the word list are *friend*, *mom*, *parent*, *boyfriends*, *dad*, *partner*, etc. Similarly, Kamasa (2013) found that Polish Church documents most frequently refer to in vitro fertilisation as a *method*, *procedure*, *technique* or *practice*; while Mulderrig (2011b), observed government’s self-representation through words *we* and *Government*. Even such basic information about the naming process, for example, is a good starting point for further qualitative analysis of that process.

For a CDA scholar, the application of these procedures and software tools is especially valuable in terms of yielding results that might guide the qualitative analysis which usually follows. By learning about frequencies, keywords and their distribution in the

respective corpus, the researcher will be able to direct their focus on more objectively relevant language phenomena. In the current project, wordlists were used in Chapters 6 and 7 as a guiding tool for planning further steps and undertaking a qualitative analysis of corpus data.

#### 5.4.2. Concordances and collocations

While frequency lists and clusters offer some initial input, looking at concordances and collocations offers further direction for CDA corpus studies. A Concordance can be simply defined as “a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in; usually a few words to the left and right of the search term” (Baker 2006: 71). When creating a concordance, the researcher focuses on one (or possibly more, depending on the software) words they would like to examine more closely. These words might be directly related to the research questions, or yielded by, for instance, a previously compiled frequency list. The aim of creating a concordance is to identify recurring patterns of language in the context, which may reveal the underlying discourses in the whole corpus. It is precisely through concordance that it is possible to overcome the gap between linguistic evidence and its context. In the study of pro-eating disorder blogs, Lukač (2011) explores the concordances to determine the relationship between the authors and the ‘outsiders’ she previously identified through word lists. Mulderrig (2011b) and Dongmei (2013) use concordances in the later phase of research to explore the context of corpus keywords in New Labour’s education policy documents and corporate social responsibility reports, respectively.

Collocations represent a step further in exploring the relationship between the words in the corpus, “[c]ollocation is therefore a way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text” (Baker 2006: 96). There is a wide range of procedures and statistical tests for deriving collocates.

*T-score test*, for example, favours high frequency collocates in a particular corpus, and measures the likelihood of encountering a particular collocation, rather than its strength. This means it more likely that it will yield high frequency, often grammatical



words. Another test, *z-score*, compares the frequency between a word and its collocates to the expected one and evaluates the difference between these values through standard deviations from the mean frequency.

*Mutual Information (MI) test*, on the other hand, examines the strength of the collocation. It is computed by dividing the actual frequency of the collocation candidate in the defined span for the search string, by expected frequency and then taking the logarithm to the base 2. MI test is particularly helpful in showing the strength of the collocation; however, it often highlights collocates with low frequency in the corpus. A modification of this test, *MI3 score*, ‘cubes’ the observed frequencies and, as a result, removes the bias for low-frequency collocates. Similarly, the log-likelihood test results, are on the middle range of the spectrum, without favouring either especially request or rare collocates. The *logDice score* is based on the frequency of the word and the collocate and the frequency of the whole collocation. This test scales well and is particularly suitable for large corpora, as well as being stable on subcorpora (Rychlý 2008).

When choosing the collocation span and how to derive collocates from the corpus, the researcher has to have in mind that all of the aforementioned are, at least to some extent, limited and that it might be worth applying two or even more methods, and thus increase the validity of findings through triangulation. Section 5.4.3 will explain the choice of statistical tests used in the current study.

Exploring collocations is valuable as helps direct the researcher towards *the incremental effect of discourse* (Baker 2006). As Stubbs (2001: 215) suggests, “[r]epeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype.”, concordance analysis proves useful in eliciting the emerging discourses. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 20) suggest that

it seems plausible that a central factor influencing what readers understand and remember (i.e., their interpretations) is the frequency of specific collocations and the semantic/discourse prosodies they communicate. More specifically, what readers are expected to remember is not so much the verbatim

collocations, but the prosodies—particularly as the same prosody can be embodied in a range of collocation patterns.

The analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7 relied strongly on exploring collocations lists in the national corpus and Word Sketches in the international corpus, followed by detailed analysis of concordance lines.

#### 5.4.3. Research procedures in quantitative and qualitative analysis

I chose to use Sketch Engine for the analysis of my corpora. This term refers both to the web-service as well as software which was launched in 2004 (Killgrieff et al. 2014). The web-service includes the software itself, as well as accessible corpora and various tools for creating and processing one's own corpora.

Apart from basic functions such as wordlists, concordances and key words list, Sketch Engine offers the words sketch, “a one page summary of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour”. There is also an option of creating a distributional thesaurus from a corpus, a function which brings together words which collocated with the same word. This software also offers high-level resources (a tokeniser, lemmatiser, POS tagger and parser) and provides access to a variety of large corpora which can be used as reference corpora for users' own smaller corpora, and parallel corpora in two or more languages.

In order to answer the research questions presented at the beginning of the chapter., I have employed the following quantitative and qualitative procedures. *Table 5.1* presents the overviews of these procedures in relation to the research questions.

The findings of the chapters were used to inductively develop my analysis throughout the project. Another principle guiding the analysis was to achieve consistency in the exploration of both corpora, which was occasionally limiting, as some of the tools and techniques suitable for the analysis of data in English, could not be used with data in Croatian.

The more detailed approach and rationale are given ad hoc for different steps in the analysis are presented in sections 6.2., 7.2. and 8.2 in respective chapters.

*Table 5.1: Overview of the research questions and the related analytical procedures*

<b>Chapter 6</b>	
<b>Research question</b>	<b>Analysis procedure</b>
Who are the main social actors in the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating word lists for both corpora</li> <li>• Identifying the most frequent verbs denoting verbal processes in the word lists both corpora</li> <li>• Identifying the most frequent sayers participating in these verbal processes</li> <li>• Establishing the emerging categories of sayers in the national and international corpus</li> </ul>
How are these actors represented in the corpora?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploring collocation candidates of the selected sayers in both corpora</li> <li>• Using different statistical tests for the national corpus, and Word Sketch function for international corpus</li> <li>• Concordances analysis of selected words and collocations</li> <li>• Comparing the findings in the two corpora</li> </ul>
<b>Chapter 7</b>	
<b>Research question</b>	<b>Analysis procedure</b>
What are the main topics in the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifying the most frequent words of lexical meaning for both corpora</li> <li>• Establishing semantic domains in both corpora</li> </ul>
How are these topics represented in the corpora?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploring collocation candidates of the selected most frequent words within the semantic domains</li> <li>• Using different statistical tests for the national corpus, and Word Sketch function for international corpus</li> <li>• Concordances analysis of selected words and collocations</li> <li>• Comparing the findings in the two corpora.</li> </ul>
<b>Chapter 8</b>	
<b>Research question</b>	<b>Analysis procedure</b>

Which discursive legitimization strategies are used by social actors in the national and international corpus?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Downsampling both corpora with the use of <i>ProtAnt</i></li> <li>• Reiterative annotating of the corpora samples with <i>NVivo 10</i> applying the legitimization model adapted from van Leeuwen (2008), and the findings about the social actors and topics from previous chapters</li> <li>• Analysis of the examples of different categories of legitimization strategies</li> <li>• Comparing the findings in the two corpora.</li> </ul>
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The very first step after creating my corpora was to use the Wordlist option to compile a list of most frequent lemmas in the corpus, focusing on the words of lexical relevance, as this informed the analysis in chapters 6 and 7 (see *Table 6.1.* and *Table 6.2.*).

**Collocation candidates ?**

Attribute: lemma (lowercase) ▾ In the range from: -5 to: 5

Minimum frequency in corpus: 50

Minimum frequency in given range: 3

T-score  
 MI  
 MI3  
 log likelihood  
 min. sensitivity  
 Show functions: logDice ▾

T-score  
 MI  
 MI3  
 log likelihood  
 min. sensitivity  
 Sort by: logDice ▾

Make candidate list Save options

*Figure 5.2: Setting up the collocation queries in Sketch Engine<sup>3</sup>*

To explore the representation of the social actor and topics, further analysis in both corpora was oriented towards the collocational and colligational patterns in the corpora and detailed exploration of concordance lines. This entailed finding the most frequent collocations of the selected words. Notably, different statistical tests highlight different aspects of the collocational patterns.

<sup>3</sup> The screenshots included in this thesis are from the version of Sketch Engine used from the beginning of the project and are, since July 2018, available on <https://old.sketchengine.co.uk>. Note that this interface differs from the current one on <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>.

Figure 5.2. shows the process of setting up the calculation of collocates in Sketch Engine. I have employed the MI test in order to identify the strongest collocations. As recommended by Hunston (2008) and Potts (2015), only the collocates with scores  $\geq 3$  are considered. Additionally, I have set the minimum frequency to 50. This ensured I would not focus on low-frequency collocations, which is the main disadvantage of using the MI test. The collocation candidates have been sorted by log-likelihood scores.

An example of collocation test output is shown in Figure 5.3 for the word *brak* (marriage). Before considering the collocates, and exploring the concordance lines, I removed grammatical and functional words, as I wanted to focus my analysis on lexical words and semantically rich collocations. The left-hand side of the figure shows the unedited list of collocation candidates, and the right-hand side shows the list with the grammatical and functional results crossed out.

	Cooccurrence count	Candidate count	MI
P   N zajednica	979	2,645	6.253
P   N biti	1,632	43,946	3.116
P   N žena	589	1,985	5.934
P   N kao	554	3,325	5.101
P   N životan	317	535	6.932
P   N i	871	27,297	2.717
P   N da	586	15,219	2.988
P   N .	823	36,247	2.226
P   N muškarac	249	1,611	4.993
P   N ,	856	41,616	2.083
P   N definicija	145	212	7.139
P   N obitelj	298	3,354	4.194
P   N koji	454	11,031	3.084
P   N za	365	8,672	3.116
P   N u	488	19,628	2.357
P   N =	92	119	7.315
P   N pravo	246	3,936	3.687
P   N :	159	5,050	2.698
P   N istospolni	112	277	6.380
P   N +	93	141	7.086
P   N ustav	192	2,212	4.161
P   N jedino	103	308	6.106
P   N struktura	78	116	7.114
P   N isključivo	48	221	5.484
P   N sklapanja	32	55	6.905
P   N "	167	7,197	2.257
P   N stupiti	32	57	6.854
P   N ljudsko	36	108	6.102
P   N "	97	2,427	3.042
P   N što	122	4,248	2.565
P   N ?	94	2,547	2.927
P   N odredba	47	422	4.520
P   N zaštita	121	633	5.300
P   N ustavan	144	1,171	4.663
P   N držati	84	219	6.304
P   N na	305	10,652	2.561
P   N sklapanje	66	103	7.045
P   N sebe	344	15,016	2.239
P   N o	218	5,563	3.013
P   N između	90	405	5.517
P   N njihov	91	671	4.804
P   N sklopiti	48	73	7.082
P   N institucija	68	285	5.619
P   N ne	192	6,686	2.565
P   N definiranje	39	54	7.217

	Cooccurrence count	Candidate count	MI
P   N zajednica	979	2,645	6.253
P   N biti	1,632	43,946	3.116
P   N žena	589	1,985	5.934
<del>P   N kao</del>	<del>554</del>	<del>3,325</del>	<del>5.101</del>
P   N životan	317	535	6.932
<del>P   N i</del>	<del>871</del>	<del>27,297</del>	<del>2.717</del>
<del>P   N da</del>	<del>586</del>	<del>15,219</del>	<del>2.988</del>
<del>P   N .</del>	<del>823</del>	<del>36,247</del>	<del>2.226</del>
P   N muškarac	249	1,611	4.993
<del>P   N ,</del>	<del>856</del>	<del>41,616</del>	<del>2.083</del>
P   N definicija	145	212	7.139
P   N obitelj	298	3,354	4.194
<del>P   N koji</del>	<del>454</del>	<del>11,031</del>	<del>3.084</del>
<del>P   N za</del>	<del>365</del>	<del>8,672</del>	<del>3.116</del>
<del>P   N u</del>	<del>488</del>	<del>19,628</del>	<del>2.357</del>
<del>P   N =</del>	<del>92</del>	<del>119</del>	<del>7.315</del>
P   N pravo	246	3,936	3.687
<del>P   N :</del>	<del>159</del>	<del>5,050</del>	<del>2.698</del>
P   N istospolni	112	277	6.380
<del>P   N +</del>	<del>93</del>	<del>141</del>	<del>7.086</del>
P   N ustav	192	2,212	4.161
P   N jedino	103	308	6.106
P   N struktura	78	116	7.114
P   N isključivo	48	221	5.484
P   N sklapanja	32	55	6.905
<del>P   N "</del>	<del>167</del>	<del>7,197</del>	<del>2.257</del>
P   N stupiti	32	57	6.854
P   N ljudsko	36	108	6.102
<del>P   N "</del>	<del>97</del>	<del>2,427</del>	<del>3.042</del>
<del>P   N što</del>	<del>122</del>	<del>4,248</del>	<del>2.565</del>
<del>P   N ?</del>	<del>94</del>	<del>2,547</del>	<del>2.927</del>
P   N odredba	47	422	4.520
P   N zaštita	121	633	5.300
P   N ustavan	144	1,171	4.663
P   N držati	84	219	6.304
<del>P   N na</del>	<del>305</del>	<del>10,652</del>	<del>2.561</del>
P   N sklapanje	66	103	7.045
<del>P   N sebe</del>	<del>344</del>	<del>15,016</del>	<del>2.239</del>
<del>P   N o</del>	<del>218</del>	<del>5,563</del>	<del>3.013</del>
P   N između	90	405	5.517
P   N njihov	91	671	4.804
P   N sklopiti	48	73	7.082
P   N institucija	68	285	5.619
P   N ne	192	6,686	2.565
P   N definiranje	39	54	7.217

Figure 5.3: Collocates of “brak” using MI statistical test, sorted by log-likelihood

Following this step, the candidates are presented in tables, and, throughout Chapters 6 and 7, only first 20 candidates are shown (see example in *Table 5.2.*), although the entire collocates list has been considered before the qualitative analysis of the concordances. The tables also co-occurrence counts and MI scores, as well as English translations for collocation candidates in the national corpus.

*Table 5.2: Collocations list for brak (marriage) in the national corpus*

<b>brak</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Zajednica	Union	979	6.25
2.	Biti	Be	1632	3.12
3.	žena	Woman	589	5.93
4.	životan	Life	317	6.93
5.	muškarac	Man	249	4.99
6.	definicija	Definition	145	7.14
7.	obitelj	Family	298	4.19
8.	pravo	Right	246	3.69
9.	istospolni	Same-sex	112	6.38
10.	Ustav	Constitution	192	4.16
11.	Jedino	Only	103	6.11
12.	struktura	Structure	18	7.11
13.	isključivo	Exclusively	48	5.48
14.	sklapanje	Entering/making	32	6.91
15.	stupiti	Enter/make	32	6.85
16.	ljudsko	human	36	6.10
17.	odredba	provision	47	4.52
18.	zaštita	Protection	121	5.30
19.	Ustavan	Constitutional	144	4.66
20.	držati	Hold	84	6.30

For the international corpus, in addition to the collocation candidates list, this part of the analysis also included the use of the Word Sketch function in Sketch Engine, which is available as part of the Sketch Grammar package for the English language. Briefly, this option provides “a corpus-based summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour” (Sketch Engine 2015). The researcher needs to select a lemma and assign it to a part of speech category (otherwise this is done automatically, where sufficient amount of information is available) so that a Word Sketch can be produced. The result of the analysis will offer a summarised version of the patterns in which the lemma occurs in the corpus, as shown in the example below, in *Figure 5.4:*

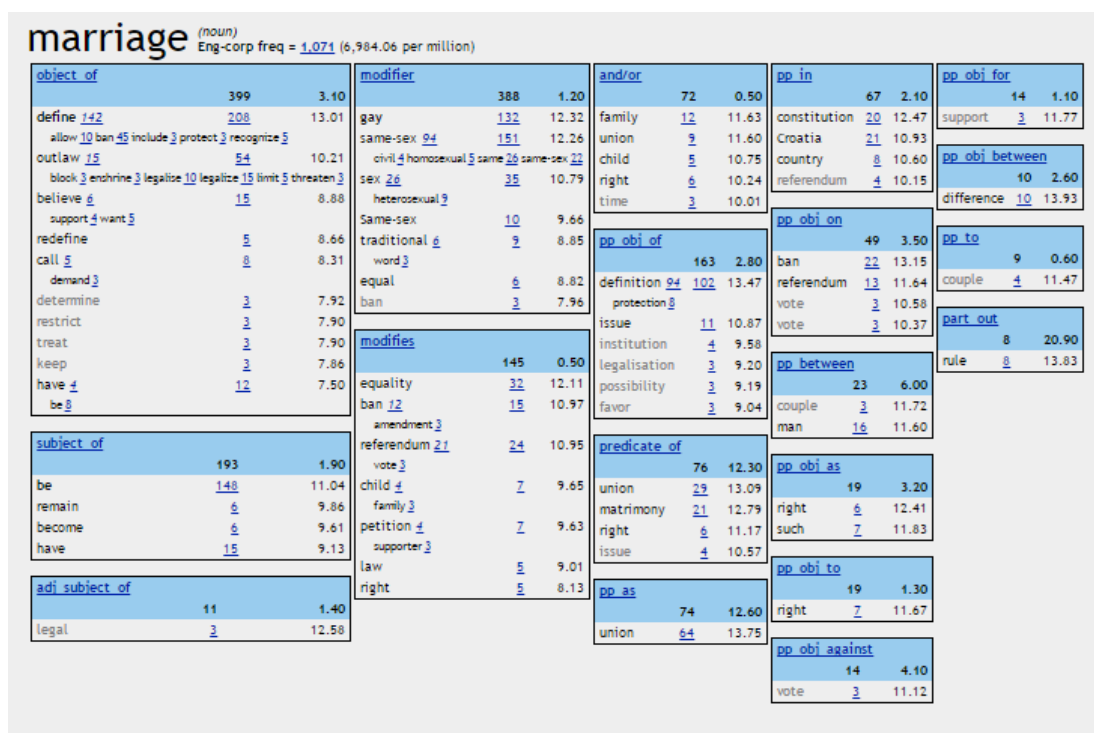


Figure 5.4: Word Sketch for “marriage” in the international corpus

This is useful in cases where the corpus is too extensive to allow for a detailed exploration of collocations and concordances, or simply to provide a starting point for the analysis.

As shown in Table 5.1. showed, the next step in the analysis was to examine the concordances containing the collocation candidates in the search of any emerging trends or pattern in the text and co-text. This step involved a more in-depth qualitative analysis, and the findings are presented in Chapters 6 and 7, supported by concordances (and translations), to exemplify the discourse patterns emerging.

## 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to offer insight into some of the most prominent methodological procedures in corpus CDA studies. Apart from elaborating on the various possibilities in choosing the corpus source and size, I discussed some basic corpus linguistics concepts like frequency, concordance, and collocates, These theoretical concepts were illustrated by examples from relevant corpus CDA studies.

Also, it presented research questions addressed in the analysis and explained the rationale behind focusing on the representations in the media discourse. Furthermore, it included an overview of a range of approaches, and methods used in this study.

Combining quantitative and qualitative steps offers an efficient way to approach the research questions and helps triangulate findings and offer complementary insights into different aspects of the marriage referendum debate. The following three chapters will detail the approach to and the findings about the representation of the most important social actors, topics and legitimation strategies in the national and international corpus.



## 6. “Nothing has divided Croatia like this referendum”: Representation of social actors in the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus

### 6.1. Introduction

The public debate before the marriage referendum in Croatia was started by the actions of the initiative “In the Name of the Family” has included a wide range of voices of social actors and groups from different spheres of the society. In *Chapter 5*, I gave an overview of data collected to represent the marriage referendum debate in the national and international context. Building on the key points from this chapter, I argued that using corpus analysis software and qualitative analysis will offer a more comprehensive insight into data.

The first step in approaching my research objective and exploring the referendum debate representation is to learn who took part in the debate. The complexity of the referendum’s socio-political context in Croatia calls for an exploration of how these actors are represented in online media reports and consideration of their influence on the dynamics of the marriage referendum debate. Since discourse production and meanings are social and cognitive (van Dijk 1995) and linguistic realisations are tied to representational choices the authors made (van Leeuwen 2008), understanding the social actors involved into the debate and how they are represented is vital for understanding the debate discourse.

Following the overview of the corpus data collected for this project, the first part of my analysis focuses on identifying the most prominent social actors in the media debate on the marriage referendum. This chapter answers the following research questions:

- Who are the main social actors in the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus?
- How are these actors represented in the two corpora?

First, I describe the approach to the social actors in the debate and steps to identify them in the national and international corpus, arguing they assume the role of sayers

in the media reports. Following this, I present a detailed analysis of the representation of groups of social actors supporting the referendum, namely Željka Markić, the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, members of the Roman Catholic Church and Croatian politicians. This was followed by analysing the representation of most prominent social actors and groups opposing the referendum initiative, like different LGBT organisations, individual activists, but also other civic organisations, Croatian politicians and foreign actors siding with the referendum opposition. This chapter also presents actors opposing it, and finally, any other prominent social actors appearing in the marriage referendum debate. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key points found in the analysis.

## 6.2. Approaching social actors

In order to be able to identify the social actors in my specialist corpora, I first needed to consider what a social actor is. In *Chapter 4*, I have explored social actors’ representation in various discourse analysis studies, in particular by van Leeuwen, van Dijk, Wodak, KhosraviNik and Roscigno. All of these studies focus on different strategies and linguistic tools used to analyse the representation of social actors in various contexts but do not offer a comprehensive definition of the concept of a social actor in discourse. However, when arguing for the socio-cognitive approach, van Dijk (2005) does list some features of social actors:

- They are cognitive beings, and their actions involve thinking and mental representation;
- They interact with other social actors;
- They build groups, based on their shared knowledge and interpretation of social action;
- They produce discourse which is both social and cognitive in its structure, meanings and creation.

All of these features are pertinent to the identification of social actors in the media, and I have decided to draw on them to form a working definition of the social actor in the current research project. Given that my interests are primarily in how language is used to represent social actors, a useful approach was to use the Hallidayan (1985,

2014) notion of transitivity and verbal processes in particular to identify potential social actors. Thinking about the particular genre of media discourse, I made a link between the socio-cognitive nature of social actors and its manifestation in media reports. Interaction in such discourse would entail producing meaning, and entities which are social actors would be interacting by either directly offering utterances or being reported to have done so. With this in view, the participants of verbal processes, i.e. sayers, are in fact the social actors in the current media debate.

Drawing on the definition of social actors as sayers in verbal processes, locating the verbal processes in concordance lines was key to identifying the social actors in the co-text. I have looked at verbal processes as “any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning” (Halliday 1985: 129), which meant that they would often be intertwined with mental and relational processes also present in the corpora.

My first step was looking at the wordlists of both corpora and searching for verbs which usually denote verbal processes, like *say*, *speak*, *tell*, *talk*, *express*, *answer*, *state*, etc. After compiling these lists, I selected six frequently appearing verbs for both corpora and analysed the concordances in which these appeared. Within this step I have been answering two questions:

- Does the verb occurrence actually constitute a verbal process?
- If so, who is the participant/sayer in the process?

To answer the latter question, in most of the cases I have looked for grammatical subjects close to verbs in concordance lines, but this was not always straightforward, and sometimes further analysis of the source file was necessary to find the subject. This step of the analysis aimed to identify the social actors in the corpora, rather than to describe in detail the verbal processes that emerged, and that is why I have explored relatively few verbs in depth. The verbal processes they denoted were a tool used to uncover the most prominent social actors, rather than the focus of my study.

Once I had analysed the concordance lines in both corpora, I was able to identify the most frequent sayers across different verbal processes. This process was not aimed at creating a complete list of all the actors who have in some way engage with the

debate but focused on the most represented actors in the reports as they reached the widest audience.

The next task, following van Dijk's (1995) points about social actors, was to see if and how these sayers relate to each other as social actors, i.e. to explore the possible groups or categories of social actors emerging in the corpora. Some of the sayers were individually and fully named, some were anonymous, others were particular or general, formal or informal groups of actors, and some were impersonal, like institutions or legislation. Since the current project is focused on the debate preceding the referendum, I decided to use the attitude towards the referendum question as the initial principle of distinguishing between the actors. Initial insight into the concordances of direct speech from the actors showed evidence of positive Self- and negative Other-presentation, confirming the existence of these two main categories.

Within the groups of actors with supporting and opposing, I have then looked for further similarities and differences between the actors in both corpora, which helped me establish subordinate groups. Of course, there were actors who could not be categorised in reference to the referendum question, but I again looked for other distinguishing features, like shared status in the public sphere, common industry or location. Finally, I looked at the structure, i.e. membership, of these categories and analysed the representation of the most prominent social actors and groups of social actors in these categories.

Applying this approach to identifying and analysing the social actors represented in the debate means that the focus of the study is on the more powerful social actors, i.e. those who were able to access or were granted media coverage. Therefore, some of the social actors who were actively engaged in the debate but received less coverage might have been omitted from the reports, as well as the analysis. However, this limitation does not affect the research question, which is addressing *the most prominent* social actors in the debate and their representation in the national and international corpus.

### 6.2.1 The verbal processes in the national and international corpus

As described in the previous section, the first step in the analysis involved identifying the most frequent words of lexical relevance in the corpora. This process resulted in comparable wordlists for the national corpus (*Table 6.1*).

*Table 6.1: The list of most frequent lemmas of lexical relevance for the national corpus*

RANK	WORD	FREQ.	RANK	WORD	FREQ.	RANK	WORD	FREQ.
1.	brak <i>marriage</i>	4,105	16.	građanin <i>citizen</i>	1,775	31.	velik <i>big/great</i>	963
2.	pravo <i>right</i>	3,936	17.	čovjek <i>man/person</i>	1,614	32.	država <i>state</i>	936
3.	referendum <i>referendum</i>	3,894	18.	muškarac <i>man</i>	1,611	33.	morati <i>must/have to</i>	924
4.	obitelj <i>family</i>	3,354	19.	sud <i>court</i>	1,501	34.	sabor <i>parliament</i>	922
5.	oni <i>they</i>	3,119	20.	godina <i>year</i>	1,457	35.	dan <i>day</i>	904
6.	dijete <i>child</i>	2,860	21.	osoba <i>person</i>	1,403	36.	komentar <i>comment(ary)</i>	890
7.	zajednica <i>union</i>	2,645	22.	protiv <i>against</i>	1,336	37.	politički <i>political</i>	823
8.	zakon <i>law</i>	2,623	23.	ustavan <i>constitutional</i>	1,171	38.	stranka <i>pol. party</i>	809
9.	inicijativa <i>initiative</i>	2,498	24.	članak <i>article</i>	1,101	39.	život <i>life</i>	737
10.	mi <i>we</i>	2,220	25.	vi <i>you (pl.)</i>	1,086	40.	birač <i>voter</i>	691
11.	ustav <i>constitution</i>	2,212	26.	društvo <i>society</i>	1,085	41.	narod <i>People/nation</i>	678
12.	žena <i>woman</i>	1,985	27.	Markić Markić	1,078	42.	ljudski <i>human</i>	665
13.	Hrvatska <i>Croatia</i>	1,932	28.	potpis <i>signature</i>	1,000	43.	način <i>Way/manner</i>	656
14.	hrvatski <i>Croatian</i>	1,802	29.	odluka <i>decision</i>	977	44.	medij <i>medium</i>	634
15.	pitanje <i>question</i>	1,789	30.	vlada <i>government</i>	972	45.	zaštita <i>protection</i>	633

In approaching these lists, I have considered the seed words used to compile the corpora, and which, therefore, have an expectedly high frequency. For national corpus these were “*U Ime Obitelji*” (“*In the Name of the Family*”), “*Željka Markić*”, *brak* (*marriage*), *obitelj* (*family*), *gay*, *istospolni* (*same-sex*), *ustav* (*constitution*), *definicija* (*definition*), and *referendum*, whereas the international corpus had the following seeds: “*In the Name of the Family*”, “*Željka Markić*”, *gay*, *same-sex*, *marriage*, *family*, *constitution*, *definition*, and *referendum*.

Table 6.2: The list of most frequent lemmas of lexical relevance for the international corpus

RANK	WORD	FREQ.	RANK	WORD	FREQ	RANK	WORD	FREQ.
1.	marriage	1142	16.	union	433	31.	couple	238
2.	referendum	1099	17.	you	396	32.	issue	238
3.	Croatia	1089	18.	against	361	33.	EU	230
4.	right	793	19.	we	359	34.	year	227
5.	gay	654	20.	man	356	35.	support	223
6.	vote	623	21.	law	341	36.	equality	217
7.	Croatian	549	22.	same-sex	341	37.	same	211
8.	say	507	23.	constitution	335	38.	church	210
9.	I	499	24.	family	332	39.	ban	205
10.	country	488	25.	one	307	40.	member	201
11.	government	476	26.	European	292	41.	new	199
12.	people	472	27.	other	281	42.	constitutional	193
13.	they	464	28.	group	273	43.	initiative	188
14.	woman	459	29.	Catholic	258	44.	result	188
15.	their	437	30.	state	245	45.	define	186

The first impression that arises from considering these wordlists is that many items are shared but in a somewhat different order.

For the national corpus, the wordlist included verbs like *reći* (say, 1284), *kazati* (say, 934), *govoriti* (speak, 529), *tvrditi* (claim, 270), *istaknuti* (highlight, 169), *navoditi* (claim/state, 161), *izjaviti* (state/declare, 135), *iznositi* (state/express, 65), etc. From those verbs, I have chosen the ones presented in Table 6.3 and analysed their concordances to learn if they actually include verbal processes, and which social actors are participants/sayers in these processes.

Table 6.3: Analysed verbs denoting verbal processes in the national and international corpus

Lemma in the national corpus	Freq.	Verbal process freq.	Lemma in the international corpus	Freq.	Verbal process freq.
reći (say)	1284	662	say	507	415
kazati (say)	529	284	ask	78	72
istaknuti (highlight)	169	102	express	61	44
navoditi (claim/state)	161	73	talk	32	16
izjaviti (declare)	135	106	speak	31	25

iznositi (express/state)	86	24	answer	29	18
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In the international corpus, I have identified the following verbs typically denoting verbal processes *say* (507), *tell* (79), *ask* (78), *express* (61), *demand* (48), *talk* (32), *speak* (31), *answer* (29), their frequency and frequency of verbal processes listed in *Table 6.4*.

With both lists, I have predominantly decided on the most frequent verbs, with some deviations, but it needs to be noted that the frequency of the verbs in the corpus might not directly correlate with the number of verbal processes they are present in, because their meaning in the text might sometimes be different from the verbal meaning, and this can only be discovered through in-depth analysis. Since the verbal processes were not in themselves the focus of my interest, I have oriented towards getting as much insight as possible into social actors appearing as sayers, rather than fully analysing the verbal processes.

#### 6.2.2. Social actors in the national and international corpus

The most frequent social actors appearing as sayers have been presented in *Table 6.4* below.

*Table 6.4: Most frequent social actors in verbal processes with analysed verbs in the national corpus*

Social actors	Frequency of participating in verbal processes						
	Total	reći (say)	kazati (say)	istaknuti (highlight)	navoditi (claim/ state)	izjaviti (declare)	iznositi (express / state)
Željka Markić (In the Name of the Family)	314	126	125	39	2	22	0
In the Name of the Family (NGO)	97	20	36	7	31	0	3
Author	47	44	0	0	0	1	2
Croatian citizens	37	26	10	0	0	1	0

Zoran Milanović (Prime Minister, SDP)	35	26	0	1	0	8	0
Arsen Bauk (Public Administration Minister, SDP)	35	28	0	0	0	6	1
Krešimir Planinić (In the Name of the Family, legal support)	35	16	13	3	0	3	0
Sanja Juras (Kontra, LGBT NGO in Croatia)	28	10	13	1	1	2	1
Croatian Constitutional Court	26	8	9	3	6	0	0
Ivo Josipović (Croatian President, former SDP)	24	18	0	3	0	2	1
Tomislav Karamarko (HDZ, MP)	23	22	0	1	0	0	0
Milanka Opačić (Social Policy and Youth Minister, SDP)	22	13	0	2	1	6	0
Zvonimir Anić (Croatian Bishop Chamber)	20	18	2	0	0	0	0
Pope Francis	19	11	8	0	0	0	0
Vesna Pusić (SDP, Foreign Affairs Minister)	16	12	0	1	0	3	0

It can be noted that individual social actors are among the most frequent participants of verbal processes, with only a few organisations or institutional ones. Examining all



the findings from the national corpus and referring to the actors' position with regards to the referendum question, I was able to establish three main categories of social actors, those that were involved in supporting the referendum and were in favour of the referendum question, those who were opposing the referendum, and others whom I could not list in the other two categories.

*Table 6.5: Categorisation of social actors appearing in media debate in the national corpus*

SOCIAL ACTORS SUPPORTING THE REFERENDUM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• members of "In the Name of the Family"</li> <li>• Politicians and other organisations supporting the referendum</li> <li>• members of the Roman-Catholic Church</li> </ul>
SOCIAL ACTORS OPPOSING THE REFERENDUM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• LGBT organisations and prominent individuals</li> <li>• other non-governmental organisations and citizens</li> <li>• individual politicians</li> <li>• foreign LGBT supporters</li> </ul>
OTHER SOCIAL ACTORS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Croatian citizens, voters, people, etc.</li> <li>• Croatian institutions and officials</li> <li>• Croatian experts from various fields (academics, researchers)</li> <li>• Croatian celebrities</li> <li>• Croatian media outlets and individual journalists</li> <li>• EU politicians and officials</li> <li>• Other foreign actors</li> </ul>

As shown in *Table 6.5*, I have then tried to further distinguish between the social actors within the categories. In doing so, I have considered actors' official positions, membership of a particular group or any other affiliation or characteristics. This was not always a straightforward step, as some actors had more than one affiliation or role. In such cases, I would select the most prominent one as evidenced by corpus data and use it as the basis to allocate the social actor or group to a particular category.

The most frequent social actors appearing as sayers have been presented in *Table 6.6* below.

*Table 6.6: Most frequent social actors in verbal processes with analysed verbs in the international corpus*

Social actors	Frequency of participating in verbal processes						
	Total	say	answer	talk	speak	ask	express
Zoran Milanović, PM, SDP	42	41	0	0	0	0	1
Ivo Josipović, President, former SDP	41	34	0	1	1	1	4
Croatian citizens	33	17	1	0	0	8	7
Croatian voters	28	15	8	0	0	4	1
Josip Bozanić, Croatian Archbishop	21	20	0	1	0	0	0
Vesna Pusić, Foreign Affairs Minister, HNS	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
referendum	18	0	0	0	0	18	0
Željka Markić (In the Name of the Family)	17	16	0	0	1	0	0
author	17	4	1	2	2	7	1
gay rights activists	14	9	0	2	3	0	0
In the Name of the Family	13	11	0	0	0	1	1
Sanja Juras (Kontra, LGBT NGO in Croatia)	12	11	0	0	0	1	0

The initial analysis of social actors emerging as sayers in international corpus shows a number of named individuals, as well as groups of individuals or impersonal actors. Again, I have considered all the actors and thought about possible ways of grouping them. Attitude towards the referendum question and initiative emerged as a viable criterion and principle of categorising the identified social actors. *Table 6.7* shows the three groups that have emerged in this way:

*Table 6.7: Categorisation of social actors appearing in media debate in the international corpus*

SOCIAL ACTORS SUPPORTING THE REFERENDUM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• members of In the Name of the Family and their supporters/citizens</li> <li>• politicians and political parties supporting the referendum</li> <li>• members of the Roman-Catholic Church</li> <li>• foreign conservative organisations and political parties</li> </ul>
SOCIAL ACTORS OPPOSING THE REFERENDUM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• LGBT individuals, groups and organisations</li> <li>• other organisations, activists and citizens</li> <li>• Politicians opposing the referendum</li> <li>• foreign LGBT supporters (politicians and organisations)</li> </ul>
OTHER SOCIAL ACTORS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Croatian citizens, voters, people, etc.</li> <li>• Croatian institutions and officials</li> <li>• Experts from various fields (academics, researchers)</li> <li>• Celebrities</li> <li>• Media outlets and individual journalists</li> <li>• EU politicians and officials, other foreign actors</li> </ul>

Once I had categorised the social actors as supporting the referendum initiative, opposing it or as *Other*, I considered ways in which these actors could be grouped within the three categories. Some of the actors I could easily link to an organisation or a political entity, but with others, it was less straightforward as they had several affiliations. With the latter, I have chosen the identity which was more prominent in the co-text surrounding the verbal processes as the categorising principle.

The remaining parts of this chapter present a more detailed analysis of the prominent social actors from these groups. As described in section 5.4.3. *Research procedures in quantitative and qualitative analysis*, I employ collocation candidates presented in

tables and Word Sketches as a “way into” the qualitative analysis of the concordances. The following chapters describe the representation of the most important social actors in the debate and show the concordances characteristic of the emerging discourse patterns from both corpora. The choices made by the media report authors are helpful in understanding how the social actors are constructed in the media discourse and presented to the readers.

### 6.3. Representation of referendum supporters in the national and international corpus

Having identified the groups of social actors supporting the referendum in the national and international corpus, as summarised in *Table 6.5* and *Table 6.7*, I continued the analysis of the representation of the most prominent ones in both corpora. Firstly, I looked at the representation of the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, discovering their leader Željka Markić is the most notable individual supporting actor in both national and international corpus. My analysis included the initiative supporters like the Roman Catholic Church representatives, right-wing politicians and other actors emerging on that side of the debate in the media reports.

#### 6.3.1. Željka Markić

In the national corpus, *Željka Markić* is by far the most frequent name appearing not only in this category but in the national corpus on the whole ( $f=1,078$ ). To explore how she was represented in the national corpus, I analysed the lists of words collocating with *Markić* (*Table 6.8*) and the concordance lines for these collocations.

*Table 6.8: Collocation candidates list for “Markić” in the national corpus*

Markić	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Željka	Željka	415	9.51
2.	Dr.	Dr	132	8.52
3.	inicijativa	initiative	132	5.37
4.	Kazati	Tell	85	6.16
5.	Reći	Say	85	5.70
6.	gospođa	Mrs	37	8.64
7.	Dodati	Add	21	6.49
8.	Istaknuti	Point out	20	6.54
9.	emisija	(TV) show	15	7.41

10.	Odgovoriti	Reply/answer	16	6.65
11.	Udruga	NGO/organisation	24	5.02
12.	članica	Member	17	6.74
13.	predsjednica	president	14	7.45
14.	organizacijski	organisational	14	7.40
15.	tvrditi	claim	19	5.79
16.	izjaviti	State (v)	15	6.45
17.	hrvatska	Croatian	35	3.27
18.	pitanje	question	27	3.57
19.	građanske	citizen	16	5.04
20.	odbor	committee	15	5.10

This revealed that in the national corpus *Markić* appears associated with the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, as their *representative* (*predstavnica*) or *member* (*članica*), but occasionally also as the *head* of the Initiative (*čelnica*) or one of the heads:

***Željka Markić, predstavnica inicijative “U ime obitelji”, kazala je da u inicijativi očekuju kako će referendum biti raspisan te kako vladajući više neće odugovlačiti s odlukom o referendumu. (File2878820)***

***(Zeljka Markic, the representative of the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, said that they expect the referendum to be initiated and that those in power would not stall with their decision.)***

***Željka Markić, čelnica građanske inicijative U ime obitelji, tužila je potpredsjednika Sabora Nenada Stazića i tražit će novčanu naknadu za duševne boli. (File2405859)***

***(Zeljka Markic, the head of the citizen initiative “In the Name of the family”, sued the vice-president of the Parliament Nenad Stazic, and will be asking for financial compensation for emotional distress.)***

In the international corpus, the frequencies are lower (*Markic*, 30, *Markić* 3), so fewer words of lexical relevance appeared on the collocation candidates list. However, creating a Word Sketch, which was possible with Sketch Grammar available for corpora in English (Figure 6.1), highlighted *Markić*’s leading role in the initiative in the texts from the international corpus. *Markić* presented as the *head* of the initiative, but also their *founder* and *spokeswoman*, as shown below:

***Zeljka Markic, founder of In the Name of the Family, a campaign group, denied the Catholic church was specifically backing it, or that it planned to move on to abortion. (File2406102)***

***The group’s spokeswoman Zeljka Markic told AFP it had launched the campaign after seeing events “that worried us” in France, where gay marriage was legalised in May amid a wave of sometimes violent protests. (File2755396)***

# Markic (noun)

Eng-corp freq = 30 (195.63 per million)

object of	6	0.20	modifier	34	1.13	modifies	3	0.10
quote	1	11.19	Zeljka	19	13.52	founder	1	13.00
say	3	9.42	Zeljka Markic ,			head	1	12.41
call	1	8.08	spokeswoman	2	10.82	leader	1	10.09
be	1	4.77	doctor	1	9.87			
			Zelja	1	9.87			
			businesswoman	1	9.87			
			Zelka	1	9.87			
			head	1	9.87			
			Ms	1	9.79			
			initiative	1	9.67			
			leader	1	9.64			
			activist	1	9.50			
			Family	1	9.09			
			party	1	9.04			
			sex	1	8.02			
			marriage	1	7.51			

Figure 6.1: Word Sketch for “Markic” in the international corpus

Apart from her function in the initiative, Željka Markić is referred to in the context of her political affiliation with HRAST – Hrvatska Raste (Croatia Grows), an extremely conservative right-wing political party she presided. In general, texts from both corpora reveal Markić’s professional background:

*Ovaj referendum bit će prilika da se taj stav potvrdi, ali i pojasni onima koji misle drugačije - rekla je **Željka Markić, predsjednica stranke Hrast**, na konferenciji za novinare na kojoj su predstavili inicijativu. (File2405541)*

*(This referendum will be a chance to confirm this view , but also to show to those who think differently – said **Zeljka Markic, the president of the political party “Hrast”** at the press-conference where they presented the initiative.)*

*Their leading light is a **Zeljka Markic, a successful businesswoman** with close links to the Catholic Church and a far-right party called Hrast. (File2406145)*

While the collocation trends are mostly coinciding in the national and the international corpus, the former does include a wider range of representations. In the national corpus, Markić often collocates with *gospođa* (madam, 81) or, in short, *gđa* (Mrs, 17). In the Croatian language, this is a polite term commonly used to refer to any adult female person, but especially to a person the speaker does not know personally or is socially distant from:

*Podržavate li odluku **gospođe Markić** da uskrati akreditaciju novinarima na dan referenduma? (File2878677)*

*(Do you support the decision of **Mrs Markic** to deny the journalists' accreditations on the day of the referendum?)*

This might indicate that some of the social actors and authors in the national corpus distanced themselves from *Markić*. Another collocation candidate pertinent to the national corpus text is the noun *osoba* (person):

*Meni je **Željka Markić pozitivna osoba**. Normalna hrvatica kakva i treba biti, ako je njezin grijeh što je uspjela a obrazovana je. (File2879111)*

*(For me, **Zeljka Markic is a positive person**. A normal Croatian woman, as she should be, her sin is that she has succeeded and she is educated.)*

***Markić, kao osoba koja je odlučila živjeti katoličkim stilom života**, iskazuje zavidan elan u želji da zagorča život i obespravi LGBT građane RH, pritom se sustavno služeći manipulacijama i poluistinama. (File2405861)*

*(**Markic, as a person who chose a Catholic lifestyle**, shows enviable elan in trying to make the Croatian LGBT people's lives harder, systematically using manipulations and half-truths.)*

This wording is used by authors when making a judgement and evaluating *Markić*'s character and the agenda behind her involvement with the initiative "In the Name of the Family".

### 6.3.2. Citizen initiative "In the Name of the Family"

To explore the representation of the initiative "In the Name of the Family" as a social actor in the national and international corpus, I have created the collocation candidate lists for the n-gram "U ime obitelji", shown in *Table 6.9*, and for "In the Name of the Family" shown in *Table 6.10*.

*Table 6.9: Collocation candidates list for "U ime obitelji" in the national corpus*

U ime obitelji	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Inicijativa	initiative	990	7.74
2.	građanska	citizen	218	7.87
3.	Markić	Markić	122	5.93
4.	udruga	Organisation/NGO	85	6.93
5.	organizacijski	Organisational	29	7.91
6.	Referendum	referendum	73	4.02

7.	Prikupiti	gather	30	7.21
8.	Predstavnik	representative	35	6.31
9.	Volonter	Volunteer (n)	27	7.35
10.	Odbor	committee	36	5.82
11.	Potpis	signature	38	4.99
12.	Pokrenuti	initiate	27	5.91
13.	zahtjev	Demand (n)	35	5.20
14.	akcija	action	26	6.05
15.	Uputiti	Direct (v)	22	6.58
16.	Pokret	Movement	26	5.64
17.	Objaviti	publish	23	5.72
18.	građanin	citizen	42	3.67
19.	član	Member	27	4.93
20.	danas	today	28	4.63

In the national corpus, the phrase *građanska inicijativa* (*citizens initiative*, 405) is most frequently found before the name of the initiative, but as shown in the *Table 6.9.*, the latter is also referred to as *udruga* (*NGO*), *organizacija* (*organisation*) or *pokret* (*movement*):

***Građanska inicijativa “U ime obitelji” na konferenciji za novinare predočila je svoje troškove.***  
(File2878710)

*(The citizen initiative “In the Name of the Family” have presented their expenditures on a press-conference.)*

*Izgleda da nije slučajno što su vođe **ultrakonzervativnog pokreta U ime obitelji** sve redom bogati pojedinci, pripadnici četiriju imućnih obitelji desnog političkog opredjeljenja.*  
(File2405647)

*(It doesn't seem to be a coincidence that the leaders of **the ultraconservative movement “In the Name of the Family”** are all rich individuals, member of the four wealthy families of the right-wing persuasion.)*

Other collocations in the national corpus are mostly related to the activities of the initiative, like collecting signatures, initiating the referendum, organising or communicating different messages to the wider public or other individuals participating in the debate.



Table 6.10: Collocation candidates list for “In the Name of the Family” in the international corpus

U ime obitelji	Collocation candidate	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Group	258	8.08
2.	Call	20	7.12
3.	Initiative	18	7.30
4.	collect	15	9.17
5.	Catholic	17	6.68
6.	Gather	10	7.85
7.	Conservative	11	6.74
8.	Signature	10	6.49
9.	civil	8	7.04
10.	Citizen	7	5.91
11.	Campaign	5	6.22
12.	Lead	4	6.36
13.	Petition	4	5.99
14.	Croatian	6	4.05
15.	Movement	3	6.39
16.	Support	4	4.77
17.	right	3	5.78
18.	Church	3	5.03
19.	Accord	3	5.21
20.	referendum	4	3.01

For the international corpus, the list of collocations candidates presented in Table 6.10, showing similar findings regarding the Initiative’s identification (*group, initiative. Campaign, movement*). Also, collocation candidates found in the international corpus include adjectives and phrases like conservative, Catholic, Church-backed right-wing. There are instances where “In the Name of the Family” are described negatively as anti-equality and Church puppet:

*The Catholic Church and its puppet “In the Name of the Family” were incredibly smart to use this against the government. (File2755405)*

*The referendum was held following a citizens’ initiative led by anti-equality organisation ‘In the Name of the Family’. (File2755318)*

In contrast with that, the voluntary and philanthropic element of the initiative’s agenda is highlighted in some of the reports in the national corpus:

*Inicijativa 'U ime obitelji' okupila je tisuće volontera, a kako vjerujemo da je naš cilj iskreniji i pravedniji, smatramo da možemo postići mnogo više. (File2879100)*

*(The initiative "In the Name of the Family" has gathered thousands of volunteers and, since we believe our goal is more truthful and honest, we think that we can achieve much more.)*

*Na nekim je društvenim mrežama kontinuirano prisutno vrijeđanje podupiratelja građanske inicijative "U ime obitelji" i volontera. (File2878709)*

*(On some of the social media networks, there are constant verbal assaults against the supporters and volunteers of the citizen initiative "In the Name of the Family".)*

### 6.3.3. The Roman Catholic Church

The social actors linked to the Roman Catholic Church and the Church as a whole are an important category of referendum supporters who appear as sayers in the national and international corpus.

The most prominent individual social actor in both corpora is Croatian Archbishop and Cardinal *Josip Bozanić* (9). The list of collocation candidates for *Bozanic* in the international corpus is presented in *Table 6.11*.

*Table 6.11: Collocation candidates list for "Bozanic" in the international corpus*

<b>Bozanic</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Josip	14	12.07
2.	Cardinal	12	12.40
3.	Say	15	7.83
4.	Letter	5	10.47
5.	Croatian	7	6.61
6.	Read	4	9.20
7.	Message	3	9.45
8.	Croatia	5	5.14

The analysis of the concordance lines shows that emphasis is placed on Bozanic's role as a communicator (*say, read, message, letter*), as the one who creates and disseminates messages related to the referendum, as this is consistent with his representation in the national corpus. His most known for his letter inviting the people to vote 'for' in the referendum, which was read out at masses in all Catholic Churches in Croatia:

*Croatian cardinal Josip Bozanic wrote a pro-referendum letter that was read out in churches the day of the vote. (File2755362)*

*Kardinal Bozanić, sažeto je obavijestio papu Franju o velikom angažmanu i doprinosu vjernika laika i osobito mladih vjernika građanskoj inicijativi "U ime obitelji" te o popratnom molitvenom angažmanu širom Hrvatske. (File2878878)*

*(Cardinal Bozanic briefly informed Pope Francis of the great involvement and contribution of the laymen, especially the young, to the citizen initiative "In the Name of the Family", and the praying efforts that accompanied it across Croatia.)*

In the national corpus texts, Zvonimir Ancić (20) is featured as the representative of the Croatian Bishop Chamber – the Church's governing body and, even though not that prominent in Church affairs, Ancić acts as the spokesperson for the Roman Catholic Church in the main discussion on the referendum question, which was broadcast on a national level.

When it comes to the Roman Catholic Church as a whole, in the national corpus it is represented through unnamed priests and Catholic citizens expressing support for the referendum initiative:

*Uoči referenduma o ustavnoj definiciji braka (...), katolički vjernici širom Hrvatske odazvali su se pozivu svojih biskupa i uključili u različite oblike molitava za brak, obitelj i uspjeh referenduma. (File2405642)*

*(Just before the referendum on the constitutional definition of marriage (...), Catholics from all over Croatia responded to the call of their bishops and took part in different prayers for marriage, family, and the success of the referendum.)*

The Church (199) as referendum supporter often appears in the international media reports, too. From the Word Sketch shown in Figure 6.2, it is evident that (Roman) Catholic Church is most often referred to, but Orthodox, Serbian, Episcopal and Lutheran are also mentioned.

**Church** (noun)  
Eng-corp freq = 118 (769.48 per million)

object of	15	0.13	subject of	50	0.42	modifier	117	0.99
incense	1	11.00	back	7	11.39	Catholic	79	13.42
update	1	10.82	support	6	10.94	the Catholic Church		
stand	1	10.82	help	2	10.16	Roman	8	10.68
accuse	1	10.75	urge	2	9.91	Orthodox	6	10.51
provoke	1	10.54	manipulate	1	9.32	Serbian	5	10.03
regard	1	9.35	garner	1	9.30	influential	3	9.59
say	2	8.75	amend	1	9.30	powerful	3	9.56
use	1	8.59	step	1	9.27	Episcopal	2	9.10
join	1	8.54	secure	1	9.27	Lutheran	1	8.11
give	1	8.27	force	1	9.27	Any	1	8.11
call	1	7.97	push	1	9.27	reactionary--	1	8.11
make	1	7.85	pay	1	9.24	very	1	8.07
be	2	5.75	play	1	9.24	Russian	1	8.04
			inspire	1	9.21	Croat	1	8.00
			run	1	9.19	US	1	7.97
			offer	1	9.19	official	1	7.70
			promote	1	9.19	Croatian	3	7.28
			conduct	1	9.16			
			demand	1	8.96			
			lead	1	8.91			
			gather	1	8.89			
			use	1	8.71			
			call	1	8.27			
			have	5	7.81			
			be	2	7.09			

Figure 6.2: Word Sketch for “Church” in the international corpus

Apart from collocations which identify the *Church*, e.g. *Catholic*, *Roman*, *Orthodox*, *Serbian*, *Episcopal*, *Lutheran*, Figure 6.2. shows there are also adjectives which describe its position in Croatian society, like *powerful* and *influential*.

Verbs collocating with *Church* like *back* and *support* describe the Church’s attitude and action towards the referendum initiative, while others like *manipulate*, *force* and *push* are used in the concordances to describe these actions in relation to Croatian citizens:

*To prevent equal treatment of homosexual relationships, the powerful Catholic Church forced the referendum against the will of the left-wing government. (File2755334)*

*It’s a step in the right direction. In the meantime the Catholic Church is pushing for an explicit ban on marriage equality. (File2755431)*

These actions are represented as supporting or protecting a particular group of citizens in Croatia but, inversely, repressing the rights of a minority group in the society. In the national corpus reports, such involvement of the Church, both on the institutional

level and through individual voice, raised serious concerns. The social actors opposing the referendum initiative, in particular, LGBT activists, highlighted how the Church's involvement in the referendum debate might lead to further political actions and, eventually, putting in danger the secularisation of Croatia as a country. Namely, the affiliation of the Roman Catholic Church with Zeljka Markic and the political party HRAST was seen as indicating that HRAST would represent the Church in the local elections:

*Upitan kako gleda na to da ovaj zahtjev za održavanje referenduma i traženje promjene Ustava otvoreno podržavaju vrh Katoličke crkve, predvođen kardinalom Josipom Bozanićem, ali i ostale vjerske zajednice u Hrvatskoj, Jurčić je uzvratio: Potpora Katoličke crkve znači da **ona u nas sada prvi put i službeno ima kandidata na lokalnim izborima.** (File2879045)*

*(When asked about the Catholic Church, led by cardinal Josip Bozanic, and other religious communities in Croatia supporting the referendum and constitutional changes, Jurcic replied: The support of the Catholic Church means that **for the first time they will officially have a candidate in the local elections in Croatia.**)*

#### 6.3.4. Politicians supporting the referendum initiative

Many individuals supporting the referendum in the national and international corpus can be categorised as politicians, mostly belonging to centre-right and far-right political parties. The most frequent in the verbal processes in the national corpus is Tomislav Karamarko, MP, leader of the most powerful opposition party, HDZ - *Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica* (Croatian Democratic Union). Davorin Mlakar and Jozo Radoš from the same party also frequently emerge in the national corpus reports.

***Tomislav Karamarko, razveden, ima 17 godina mlađu ljubavnicu, gorljivi je zagovornik inicijative "U ime obitelji".** (File2878917)*

*(Tomislav Karamarko, divorced, with a 17 years younger mistress, is a fervent supporter of the initiative "In the Name of the Family".)*

***Predsjednik HDZ-a Tomislav Karamarko nije u petak odbacio mogućnost suradnje s čelnicom konzervativne inicijative "U ime obitelji" Željkom Markić.** (File2405703)*

*(On Friday, the HDZ president Tomislav Karamarko had not rejected the possibility of cooperation with the head of the conservative initiative "In the Name of the Family", Zeljka Markic.)*

In the international corpus the politicians supporting the referendum also appear as sayers, fully named and represented in terms of their political affiliation, as shown in the concordance below:

***Zeljko Reiner of the main conservative HDZ party said: "It is simply the question of safety that something... which is a basis of the Croatian society does not change." (File2755364)***

***In an unrelated debate on Thursday, a Zagreb councilman from the HDZ, Mario Zupan, said that "all normal people in Croatia will vote 'yes' in the referendum." (File2754541)***

Apart from individuals who belong to political parties, there are some who are members of conservatively oriented NGOs like, *GROZD: Glas roditelja za djecu* (*Voice of Parents for Children*) and *Stožer za obranu hrvatskoga Vukovara* (*Headquarters for Defence of Croatian Vukovar*), who were also petitioning for a referendum on the use of minority languages and script.

The analysis of the reports in the international corpus revealed a group of sayers supporting the referendum who can be categorised as foreign social actors. These include foreign conservative politicians and members of conservative organisations. As sayers, these actors comment on the referendum initiative in Croatia:

***World Congress of Families Managing Director Larry Jacobs hailed the outcome of the December 1 st referendum in Croatia, as well as developments in Russia and Ecuador, as "victories for the natural family and human rights." (File2755370)***

#### 6.3.5. Summary

The analysis of the representation of the social actors supporting the referendum emerging in the national and international corpus showed several key features. Firstly, in the majority of cases, these actors have been named and their affiliation or role made known so that it is impossible to mistake them for somebody else. All of the social actors have been introduced in terms of their membership of a particular group or an official role they have. In many ways, despite being individuals, they act as spokespeople or representatives of these groups, political parties and NGOs in particular, even though this is not their official role.

When it comes to the initiative “In the name of the Family”, in both national and international corpus, it has been to a great extent reduced to Željka Markić, although other members of the initiative appear in their respective roles. In addition to her role in the initiative, she is often referred to as *gospođa (Mrs)*, not only highlighting her gender but also distancing her from other social actors. Within the initiative, though, Markić is the one who expresses the views and intentions of their actions, explains the motivation and their moral standing. She is presented as both leader and spokesperson of the initiative, and her role and actions are contextualised with her political affiliations and her links to the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia.

The initiative, on the whole, particularly in the international corpus, is shown as a homogeneous, well-organised group, efficient in mobilising the citizens and achieving its goals. The key difference between the national and the international corpus is that in the former, the initiative is represented as having a sense of unity and dedication. This is further reinforced by the notion that members of the initiative are volunteers, investing their time and energy in what they believe to be changing Croatian society for the better. The attacks they have suffered, especially physical violence against young female members of the initiative who were volunteering on the stand, portrays them as victims and everyone who does not support their agenda as aggressors. Finally, the initiative name is semantically positive, conveying the message that their work and effort are constructive and proactive, rather than opposing or hostile to anyone. In the international corpus, however, the initiative has been represented more negatively, as endangering equality and, essentially, a pawn of the Roman Catholic Church who is trying to gain more power in Croatia.

The Church appears as a very salient social actor in the reports in both corpora. In the international media reports, it is presented as immensely powerful in many spheres of public life, and there are also negative accounts of how this power is used in the marriage referendum debate. Cardinal Bozanić is the leading figure in this category, as the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia. He has the role of communicating the Church’s message to the people and mediating the communication with the Vatican and the Pope. Whereas “In the Name of the Family” is presented as undertaking the laborious task of collecting the signatures and dealing with official

procedures, the Church influences the citizens merely by communicating its view on the situation. Similar patterns can be observed in the national corpus. The individual actors affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church do not only speak for themselves but represent the Catholic majority of the Croatian population, as well as prominent figures like Pope Francis. They endeavour to distance themselves from the political aspects of the debate, but directly call out and confront the political entities on the opposing side.

The referendum supporters who are not members of the initiative, mostly belong to conservative right-wing political parties and organisations. These social actors are individually named and, although always with an affiliation, seem to be engaging in the referendum debate with their personal views, rather than that of their organisations. In the national corpus, the supporters from political parties are juxtaposed to the parties in power and Croatian officials, who held the opposite view. Their personal lives and family circumstances were also addressed and compared (or contrasted) to the views they have expressed.

Other social actors presented as sayers in the corpus data were mostly members of organisations that were in some way related to “In the Name of the Family”, creating an impression of a united front fighting for shared social goals. The messages they send often do not mention “In the Name of the Family” but revolve around general concepts of marriage and family and the overall prospect of Croatian society. The media reports from the international corpus introducing foreign actors supporting the referendum initiative show that “In the Name of the Family” is not alone in its endeavours to promote the heterosexual definition of marriage and institutionalise it through the Croatian Constitution.

#### 6.4. Representation of the referendum opponents in the national and international corpus

Turning to the category of social actors opposing the referendum initiative, I approached them in the same way as the referendum supporters and formed several groups from the actors identified as sayers in the media reports. Two distinct groups emerge in both national and international corpus. The first one includes LGBT



individuals and organisations and, the second one was formed from Croatian politicians who were represented as opposing the referendum.

The national corpus also featured the LGBT supporters outside of Croatia who were introduced into the media debate. Opposing sayers in the international corpus reports also included non-governmental organisations, ad hoc initiatives and, generally, citizens who opposed the marriage referendum.

#### 6.4.1. LGBT groups and individuals

The LGBT activists and groups are the most salient sayers supporting the referendum initiative in the verbal processes in media reports in both corpora. All of them are either leaders or highly positioned within their organisations. *Sanja Juras* from the lesbian NGO *Kontra* and the coordinator for *Iskorak* is one of the most frequent sayers in verbal processes in both corpora. The collocation candidates with the surname *Juras* from the national corpus are shown in *Table 6.12*.

*Table 6.12: Collocation candidates list for “Juras” in the national corpus*

<b>Juras</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Sanja	Sanja (first name)	82	12.50
2.	Kontra	Kontra (NGO name)	21	11.87
3.	Lezbijske	Lesbian	11	12.95
4.	Koordinatorica	Coordinator	10	12.62
5.	Grupa	Group	9	10.61
6.	Udruga	NGO/organisation	12	8.09
7.	kazati	Say	10	7.15
8.	Reći	Tell	9	6.53
9.	gospođa	Mrs	4	9.5
10.	Pravo	Right	8	4.75
11.	Poručiti	Speak	2	10.02
12.	LGBT	LGBT	3	6.71
13.	građanin	Citizen	3	4.48

These lists highlight several aspects of her representation in the media reports in the national corpus. First of all, as a social actor Sanja Juras is introduced in terms of her roles within the two NGOs she is affiliated with, like the *legal coordinator*:

*Sanja Juras, koordinatorica pravnog tima udruga Kontra i Iskorak, rekla je da je članak 325 Kaznenog zakona (KZ) na kojeg se poziva inicijativa U ime obitelji uveden u KZ kako bi se zaštitila prava posebno ugroženih manjina od nasilja. (File2878754)*

*(Sanja Juras, the legal team coordinator for the NGOs Kontra and Iskorak, said that the Article 325 of Criminal Law which "In the Name of the Family" refers to is introduced to protect the rights of especially threatened minorities.)*

In addition to that, collocating with words like *pravo* (right 8) and *građanin* (citizen 3), conveys her views and activities in promoting human rights and civil activism. Although her identity as an LGBT rights activist, rather than an LGBT person, is dominant, the other social actors address the more personal aspect of her life and implications of the referendum topic for it:

*Ono na što gospođa Juras nema pravo kad je u paru sa ženom – nema pravo reći da se taj par u Hrvatskoj zove brak, nema pravo ići na medicinski potpomognutu oplodnju i nema pravo posvojiti djecu. (File2878912)*

*(The right that Mrs Juras does not have when in a couple with another woman is to call that couple married in Croatia, opt for medically-assisted procreation or adoption of children.)*

The other LGBT individuals, who are also introduced in both corpora as representatives of their organisations include *Sandra Benčić*, affiliated with both "Građani glasuju protiv" (Citizens Voting Against) and "Centar za mirovne studije" (Centre for Peace Studies), but prevalently introduced as an LGBT citizen, *Mima Simić*, a film critic and a writer, *Marko Jurčić* from "Zagreb Pride".

*According to Sandra Bencic, from "Citizens Vote Against" this referendum is actually legalising discrimination of some minority groups. (File2754554)*

*"We have to show that we love Croatia where we live, but it also has to show that it loves all its citizens," Marko Jurcic, one of the organisers told the rally at a downtown square after an hour-long march. (File2755437)*

These social actors are introduced as professionals, sharing their views on human rights, the social status of minorities in Croatia, legal frameworks and procedures. However, there are members of the LGBT community whose personal stories and whose roles are presented differently. For example, the story of a gay couple *Tom* and *Ljubomir* reported in the national corpus:

*Mi nećemo nigdje bježati iz Hrvatske, to je i naša država koju volimo , iako ona možda ne voli nas, ali stvari će se promijeniti i mi ćemo sklopiti brak – poručuje Ljubomir. (File2878642)*

*(We won't run away from Croatia, it's our country too and we love it, although it may not love us back, but things will change and we will marry – says Ljubomir.)*

*Njih dvojica već neko vrijeme žive zajedno, a umjesto djeteta za sada su udomili samo kujicu mješanku Walk, i po mnogočemu su tipična obitelj. (File2878642)*

*(The two of them have been living together for a while, and instead of a child they have for now adopted a dog named walk, and in many ways, they are just like a typical family.)*

In both corpora, the LGBT activists and organisations are also introduced as a single social actor (although collective in its structure), with unified views, aims and actions. Apart from individual LGBT social actors, in the international corpus reports the authors write about *LGBT persons* (16), *people* (19), *community* (14), *activists* (5) and *population* (12).

**activist** (noun)  
Eng-corp freq = 70 (456.47 per million)

object of	15	0.21	subject of	34	0.49	modifier	86	1.23
catch	1	10.91	condemn	2	10.60	right	21	11.72
outrage	1	10.82	call	3	10.09	gay rights activists		
escort	1	10.82	seek	2	10.09	LGBTI	4	10.32
gather	3	10.80	hold	2	9.91	gay	21	10.32
satisfy	1	10.75	brave	1	9.87	gay rights activists		
protest	1	10.60	protest	1	9.75	homosexual	4	10.01
march	1	10.47	criticize	1	9.71	conservative	5	9.75
detain	1	10.41	accuse	1	9.71	LGBT	5	9.44
push	1	10.41	encourage	1	9.64	Gay	3	9.32
think	1	9.83	argue	1	9.48	main	2	9.23
report	1	9.50	urge	1	9.30	human	4	9.19
say	1	7.75	say	4	8.93	local	2	8.89
have	1	6.58	tell	1	8.71	government	2	8.79
			take	1	8.44	contrast	1	8.54
			have	7	8.32	June	1	8.54
			be	5	6.25	catholic	1	8.47
						Hungarian	1	8.47
						press	1	8.41
						civic	1	8.40
						transgender	1	8.37
						vote	1	8.27
						medium	1	8.16
						anti-gay	1	8.10
						marriage	1	7.15
						Croatian	2	6.77

Figure 6.3: Word Sketch for “activist” in the international corpus

The Word Sketch for *activist* in the international corpus (Figure 6.3) showed that the words most frequently found as subject and object denoted civil action (e.g. *condemn*, *call*, *protests*, *criticise*, *encourage*, *gather*, *march*), regarded positively and neutrally.

Overall, LGBT organisations and activists are represented as a unified, consolidated social actor, which is the backbone of referendum opposition.

However, there are also negative presentations of activists in some media reports which represented them as overly demanding and frightening to the other citizens. The concordances below show collocations with *march* and *never satisfied*:

*With police escorts crowds of **homosexual activists** **marched in the streets to intimidate people** from voting for the amendment. (File2406118)*

*However **homosexual activists** **are never satisfied** with just securing a non discriminating atmosphere. (File2755452)*

#### 6.4.2. Croatian politicians

Croatian politicians comprise an important group of referendum initiative opponents. In both corpora, they are always named as individual social actors, with reference to their political affiliation and official role, if they have one. Politicians, in fact, most often appear as sayers in this group and are, generally, some of the most prominent social actors in the national and international corpus. Most of these belong to SDP - Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (Social Democratic Party of Croatia), a left-centre political party which was in power in 2014. The Croatian president at that time was also affiliated with SDP, but renounced his membership, as all presidents do in Croatia when taking over the office.

The analysis of verbal processes has also shown that two most frequent sayers in the national corpus are the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović (who is also the president of SDP) and the minister of Public Administration, Arsen Bauk. I have created collocation candidate list for both to explore how they are represented in national corpus. In addition to collocating with words denoting his official role and political party membership, in the national corpus *Milanović* collocates with verbs communication and decision-making processes, *reći*, *kazati* (both *say*), *(pro)komentirati* (*comment*), *misлити* (*think*), *izjaviti* (*declare*), *raspisati* (*start/open*), *odrediti* (*determine*).

**Milanovic** (noun)  
Eng-corp freq = 78 (508.64 per million)

subject of	43	0.55	modifier	171	2.19	possessed	7	0.09
say	16	10.87	Zoran	54	12.83	government	3	12.26
Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic said			Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic			credential	1	11.99
tell	4	10.55	Minister	52	12.73	administration	1	11.99
call	4	10.37	Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic			cabinet	1	11.99
argue	2	10.21	Prime	50	12.65	position	1	11.67
swear	1	9.53	Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic					
decry	1	9.53	Premier	2	8.56			
label	1	9.53	premier	2	8.56			
emphasize	1	9.50	Mr	2	8.52			
vow	1	9.50	Mr.	2	8.49			
blast	1	9.50	marriage	2	7.70			
press	1	9.50	Minster	1	7.57			
provoke	1	9.48	minister	1	7.49			
pledge	1	9.44	Democratic	1	7.40			
propose	1	9.27	referendum	1	6.79			
suggest	1	9.24	Croatian	1	5.57			
appear	1	9.14						
use	1	8.85						
make	1	8.35						
have	3	7.08						

Figure 6.4: Word Sketch for “Milanovic” in the international corpus

The collocation patterns from the Word Sketch for *Milanovic* (Figure 6.4) in the international corpus include a wide range of verbs describing his involvement in the marriage referendum debate from neutral ones like *tell*, *propose*, *suggest*, *emphasize*, to verbs like *provoke*, *pledge*, *swear*, *decry*.

As illustrated in the concordances below, the contents of his messages often include future and more abstract implications of the marriage referendum, like the threat to citizens’ wellbeing and the need to respond to the referendum result with further legislative instruments:

*Center-left Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic decried the result and announced that a new law on civil partnerships giving “all couples, regardless of sex orientation, the same rights” would be passed expeditiously. (File2754539)*

*According to Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic, the referendum jeopardized people's right to happiness and choice. (File2406157)*

In the national corpus, the surname of the Public Administration Minister, *Arsen Bauk*, often collocates with specific words from the register related to his ministry, like *zakon* (law), *prijedlog* (proposal), *uprava* (administration), *partnerstvo* (partnership), *zajednica* (union).

This highlights the aspect of the debate concerned with the legality of the procedure that allowed the “In the Name of the Family” to initiate the referendum in the first place.

The Croatian president Ivo Josipović is also featured as one of the prominent social actors in both corpora. The analysis of the concordance lines in the national corpus has shown that Josipović, although he has taken a side in the debate, appears primarily as a commentator and observer, rather than somebody who can take action and bring about changes. In the international corpus Josipović is also represented as clearly expressing his negative attitude towards the referendum initiative, but in a less intense manner than the Prime Minister. The below examples show his responses to the referendum:

*Predsjednik tu nema nikakvu nadležnost, osim što i ovom prilikom ističem da valja poštovati Ustav i zakone i kada se radi o pravu na referendum – odgovorio im je Josipović. (File2878730)*

*(The President has no jurisdiction in this, I'll use this opportunity as well to highlight that the Constitution and laws should be adhered to when it comes to referendum implementation as well.)*

*Josipovic also expressed the hope that the constitutional ban on same-sex marriage would not prevent a “fair” legal framework for same-sex couples. “The rights of all citizens must be protected,” Josipovic said. (File2406071)*

Female politicians are less frequent but also emerge in the group of social actors opposing the referendum in both corpora. The most notable ones are Milanka Opačić, from SDP, the minister of Social Policy and Youth, and Vesna Pusić, from HNS (Croatian People's Party, left-centre), who was the Foreign and European Affairs minister. Both of these politicians are taking part in the referendum debate from the perspective of their respective cabinet positions, but Opačić's involvement is a bit closer as she directly deals with some areas of LGBT rights, like the adoption of children and custody rights. Vesna Pusić plays a more important role in outward-looking matters related to the definition of marriage and, as shown in the concordance below, represents Croatia in the international sphere:

*Građanska inicijativa "U ime obitelji" iskazala je zabrinutost, kako navode, "pristranim" izvješćivanjem ministrice vanjskih i europskih poslova Vesne Pusić na sastanku u UN-u, gdje se Hrvatska 26. rujna priključila asocijaciji 11 zemalja nazvanih "Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender Core Group". (File2878973)*

*(The citizen initiative "In the Name of the Family" expressed concern over, as they stated, "biased" reporting of Foreign and European Affairs Minister Vesna Pusic at a UN meeting, where on 26<sup>th</sup> September Croatia joined 11 other countries in "Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender Core Group".)*

Apart from collocations related to her position, in the international corpus, Pusić is often reported expressing concerns about the discriminatory nature of the proposed referendum amendments and the implications of referendum legislation which, at the time, would mean the referendum outcome would be valid regardless of the number of voters.

With all of the individual politicians, especially the ones in influential roles, the mere siding with the referendum opposition is powerful social action in itself, likely to influence other social actors:

*Kada su Ivo Josipović, Zoran Milanović i Vesna Pusić poprilično agresivno izražavali svoje stavove, podcjenjujući one koji misle drugačije, ja sam se osjećao pozvanim da kažem da ću glasati "ZA" na referendumu o definiciji braka – istaknuo je danas čelnik HDZ-a Tomislav Karamarko. (File2878734)*

*(When Ivo Josipovic, Zoran Milanovic i Vesna Pusic expressed their views in an aggressive manner, undermining those who think differently, I felt prompted to say I will vote FOR in the referendum on the constitutional definition of marriage.)*

#### 6.4.3. Other NGOs in Croatia

The category of social actors opposing the referendum also includes non-governmental organisations which are not strictly related to the LGBT community but have been formed in relation to the referendum. One of the most prominent groups in both national and international corpus is "Građani glasuju protiv" (Citizens vote against), an ad hoc group started in response to the activities of the initiative "In the Name of the Family". Others include "Ja glasam PROTIV" ("I am voting against") and "U ime svake obitelji" ("In the name of every family"). They received support from the citizens who took part in the public protests against the referendum initiative:

*Kampanja "Građani glasuju protiv" započela je u srijedu na zagrebačkom Cvjetnom trgu. Četrdesetak udruga koje se bave zaštitom i promicanjem različitih segmenata ljudskih prava udružili su se kako bi potaknuli građane da izađu na referendum i stanu u obranu ljudskih prava. (File2879124)*

*(The campaign "Citizens Voting Against" was launched on Wednesday on Cvjetni Square in Zagreb. About forty human rights NGOs came together to encourage the citizens to vote in the referendum and stand up for the protection of human rights.)*

Responses came as well from actors who were not members or related with the LGBT community, in particular in media reports from the national corpus. These were NGOs and initiatives who were primarily concerned with other themes but who got engaged with the debate as it concerned the whole society. An example is the NGO GONG – "Građani Organizirano Nadgledaju Glasovanje" (Citizens Monitoring the Elections), usually lobbying for the impartiality and legality of the election procedure. The following concordance describes their involvement in the debate:

*Udruga GONG, koja se proteklih godina profilirala upravo na praćenju izbora, izuzela se od promatranja referenduma jer je zauzela jasan stav protiv ustavne definicije braka kao životne zajednice muškarca i žene. (File2879037)*

*(The NGO GONG, which is especially known for monitoring the election, withdrew from monitoring the referendum because they have adopted a firm attitude against the constitutional definition of marriage as a life union of a man and a woman.)*

In the analysed verbal processes, these organisations are often referred to jointly with citizens and politicians, as a homogenous group with uniform characteristics and agenda, as one collective social actor:

*Protivnici referenduma se ponašaju kao da je samo po sebi jasno što su "ljudska prava" a što nisu i da referendum onda može dovesti do pogrešne odluke. (File2405572)*

*(The referendum opponents are acting like it is common knowledge what "human rights" are and what they are not, and that the referendum could therefore lead to a wrong decision.)*

In reports about the referendum opposition in the international corpus, the individual citizens also engage with the debate, as well as the unnamed referendum opposition:

*"I will vote against because I think that the referendum is not a festival of democracy, but a festival of oppression against a minority, which fights for its rights and which does not have its rights," Jura Matulic, a university student, said. (File2755315)*

*Despite enough signatures, critics say the vote is discriminatory and it infringes on basic human rights. (File2755453)*



#### 6.4.4. Foreign actors

In addition to social actors and groups based in Croatia, there are some foreign actors emerging in the media reports as the opponents of the referendum initiative. In the verbal processes explored in the national corpus, Gay European Travelling Association and their representative Paul Barnes, appear as frequent sayers.

*Ako referendum prođe, svi mediji koji podržavaju gay zajednicu pisat će o tome i to bi moglo dovesti do poziva na bojkot Hrvatske, ne samo što se tiče homoseksualaca nego i njihovih obitelji i prijatelja – kazao je **Paul Barnes iz organizacije Gay European Travel Association.** (File2879068)*

*(If the referendum is passed, all the media supporting the gay community will cover it and this might lead to a call for boycott of Croatia, not only among gays, but also their family and friends – said **Paul Barnes from the Gay European Travel Association.**)*

The international corpus texts reported the involvement of foreign activists or members of LGBT communities or other organisations who had visited Croatia to express their support for the local LGBT groups protesting against the referendum initiative:

***VFM board member Ernie McLeod and his husband, Kevin Moss, who are in Croatia for the fall, had the opportunity to participate in a number of pro-equality actions prior to the vote.** (File2406137)*

*In Split they held signs saying "Glasam Protiv!"--meaning "I'm Voting Against!"--and on the day before the vote they marched through the center of Zagreb with a thousand others who were urging Croatia not to enshrine discrimination into their constitution. (File2406137)*

The support also comes from political figures and groups, in particular from members of the EU Parliament's Intergroup on LGBT Rights:

***Ulrike Lunacek MEP, Co-President of the Intergroup on LGBT rights, concluded: "Croatia has come a long way in recognising minorities and their rights. I have no doubt that, whatever the outcome of this referendum, equality and justice will prevail in the end."** (File2755321)*

*"The Croats will not survive the attack on the last thing that they have left. They do not want to be dictated how to behave in intimate life. **I think this could lead to a serious social and political protest,**" said **Filimonova.** (File2406157)*

The engagement of foreign actors is not welcome or neutrally presented by all media report authors, as shown in the example of the *US Government* below:

*The U.S. government even got involved. In On Oct. 24 a US State Department official came to Croatia and gave a chilling speech about how committed the US is to promoting the LGBT movement. (File2406118)*

#### 6.4.5. Summary

Considering the social actors opposing the referendum as a group, on the whole, it is possible to observe several points about their representation in the national and international corpus.

First, the group of social actors opposing the referendum includes different social groups and individuals taking part in the debate and they are involved and represented from various perspectives, from personal to professional ones. Nonetheless, the referendum proponents refer to them as a relatively homogenous group of actors with shared views and motifs for action.

The vast majority of social actors are individually named. These actors tend to express attitudes and opinions relevant to their particular area of work or engagement, in particular, the politicians and officials. Their involvement is presented in terms of the political power they have to intervene in this particular matter, but are not limited by this, e.g. even though his political powers are very restricted in comparison to the Government or the Parliament, the Croatian President is an actor who takes part in verbal processes and often emerges as introduced by other social actors.

The social actors who are members of the LGBT community and other NGO activists are all presented as fighting for human rights of LGBT citizens in Croatia and, in a wider sense, standing up for a more equal and just society. This group of actors was led by individual LGBT and human right activists, who are presented as engaged, organised and competent opponents to “In the Name of the Family” and their supporters. Social actors from this group contributed to the debate by highlighting the implications for human rights protection and the general position of minorities in Croatian society. However, the general LGBT population, in contrast to LGBT individuals, is presented as a vulnerable social group, exposed to various forms of discrimination and at risk of further marginalisation, resulting not only from the marriage referendum outcome but the overall initiative and support it has gained.

The social actors who are politicians or government officials are introduced as working for their ideal of a legal, constitutional state and society, where such referendums have no place. Highly positioned left-wing politicians emerge in this category of social actors. Prime Minister Milanović is particularly vocal and strong-minded in condemning the referendum and the consequences it might have in a social and political sense. The Croatian President and other politicians are more controlled in how they express their attitudes towards the referendum, but them siding with the opposition is still negatively perceived by those who hold different views. Foreign politicians and LGBT activists emerging from the debate have a critical view of the referendum initiative, often extended to Croatia as a whole, express their worries about the human rights situation in the country and regard the referendum initiative as an overt means of institutionalising discrimination. This becomes particularly important in the context of Croatia joining the EU in July 2013. The social actors from other countries appear in the debate, but again, this is not always viewed as helpful or constructive.

## 6.5. Representation of the other social actors in the national and international corpus

### 6.5.1. The Croatian people

The final group of sayers appearing in the national and international media reports were social actors and groups of actors who were not overwhelmingly supporting either side in the marriage referendum debate. The actors were not seen to be included in the in-group and out-group patterns, as the two previous groups.

One such group is comprised of Croatian citizens and (potential) voters in marriage referendum. The words used to represent this group in the national corpus are *građani(n)* (citizens, 1,775), *Hrvati* (Croats, 214), *narod* (people), *birači/glasači* (voters, 691/61), *društvo* (society, 1085).

To begin with, I have explored the representation of *građani(n)* in the national corpus texts. There are two ways in which a group of social actors has been represented. In

the majority of cases, online reports authors' write about Croatian citizen as one, unified social actor.

*Table 6.13: Collocation candidates list for “građanin” in the national corpus*

<b>građanin</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Referendum	referendum	177	5.12
2.	Hrvatski	Croatian	166	4.79
3.	Protiv	against	110	5.29
4.	Glasati	Vote (v)	62	7.94
5.	volja	Will (n)	63	6.59
6.	Incijativa	initiative	100	4.22
7.	Pravo	right	109	3.72
8.	željeti	Wish (v)	72	4.81
9.	većina	majority	62	5.34
10.	Pozivati	call	49	6.22
11.	posto	percentage	49	5.36
12.	Republika	republic	50	4.94
13.	potpis	signature	51	5.25
14.	izjašnjavanje	Making statements	29	7.41
15.	Velik	big	52	4.69
16.	Pitanje	question	63	4.07
17.	tisuća	thousand	37	5.98
18.	Red	Order/line	34	6.34
19.	Kampanja	Campaign	39	5.65
20.	Drugi	other	61	4.03
21.	moć	power	79	3.30

Some of the collocations on the list are prominent due to names (“*Građani glasaju protiv*“, *Citizens Voting Against*) or fixed phrases used in Croatian political discourse (*građani i građanke, male and female citizens*). Other frequent collections shown in the *Table 6.13.* indicate the link between the citizens and the referendum initiative; they are the ones who need to go out (*izaći*) to the referendum, vote (*glasati*) and declare their opinion on the matter. The citizens are the ones who have rights, not just ones related to marriage, but also the right to information and freedom of expression. In the examples below, it is the will of citizens that will determine the outcome of the referendum on marriage:

*Ja to ne bih definitivno napravio, **naši građani imaju pravo na informacije**, iako moramo priznati da se neke kuće doista nisu proslavile. (File2878956)*

*(I would certainly not have done that, **our citizens have the right to information**, although we have to admit that some media houses did not show their best face.)*

*Vlada nastavlja s nametanjem ideologije **ne poštujući volju građana**. (File2878646)*

*(The Government continues imposing ideologies **and disrespecting the will of the citizens**.)*

Given the influence attributed to them, it becomes really important to learn who these *citizens* are and what kind of group they comprise. There is a division, even a conflict, between the *majority* (*većina*) and *minority* (*manjina*):

*Demokracija u kojoj ja želim živjeti **nije apsolutno pravo većine da manjini, koja u pravilu nema takvu snagu, nameće svoje vrijednosne stavove**. (File2878746)*

*(In a democracy that I want to live in, **the majority does not have the absolute right to impose its moral values on the minority, which is usually less powerful**.)*

However, sometimes *građani* (*citizens*) is used to refer to the majority, while *manjina* (*minority*) is presented in the national corpus as separate from *građani* and hostile to this group, like in the following concordance:

*Inicijativa (...) ima jasan stav o tome da je brak životna zajednica žene i muškarca, da ta odredba treba ući u Ustav **kako bi se spriječile manipulacije manjine** te da se građanima omogući da se najdemokratskijom mogućom metodom o toj definiciji izjasne. (File2405802)*

*The Initiative (...) has a clear stance on marriage being a union of a man and a woman and on including the definition in the Constitution, in order **to prevent the minority manipulation** and to allow the citizens to express themselves through the most democratic method.)*

To analyse the representation of citizen in media reports in the international corpus, I have created a Word Sketch shown in *Figure 6.5*.

**citizen** (noun)  
Eng-corp freq = 177 (1,154.22 per million)

object of		subject of		modifier		modifies	
	39 0.22		48 0.27		64 0.36		10 0.06
urge	4 10.98	initiate	3 10.49	second-class	7 11.65	etc	1 10.68
become	5 10.76	sign	3 10.28	second	4 10.59	initiative	3 10.33
represent	2 10.14	decide	2 9.71	class	3 10.52	support	1 9.64
deny	2 10.00	support	2 9.38	Croatian	16 9.82	number	1 9.53
prevent	2 9.91	pay	1 9.30	Croatian citizens		medium	1 8.89
ask	2 9.87	wish	1 9.27	successful	2 9.73	referendum	1 7.29
discourage	1 9.67	plan	1 9.24	individual	2 9.69	group	1 6.90
stifle	1 9.67	present	1 9.16	homosexual	2 9.28	right	1 6.19
terrorize	1 9.67	refuse	1 9.14	honorary	1 8.98		
molest	1 9.64	bring	1 9.14	earning	1 8.98		
motivate	1 9.64	send	1 9.14	open-minded	1 8.98		
deter	1 9.64	think	1 9.06	expatriate	1 8.98		
fund	1 9.53	lead	1 8.96	rate	1 8.96		
hand	1 9.53	urge	1 8.96	ALL	1 8.93		
inform	1 9.50	oppose	1 8.93	rich	1 8.91		
consult	1 9.50	ask	1 8.89	Slovak	1 8.89		
label	1 9.44	use	1 8.75	ordinary	1 8.85		
ignore	1 9.30	want	1 8.64	potential	1 8.82		
organise	1 9.21	vote	2 8.60	December	1 8.82		
give	2 8.98	show	1 8.54	private	1 8.69		
want	1 8.71	call	1 8.30	EU	2 8.57		
see	1 8.31	take	1 8.24	Rights	1 8.57		
follow	1 8.30	be	13 7.62	young	1 8.50		
use	1 8.23	have	4 7.48	first	2 8.48		
be	3 6.31	do	1 7.27	referendum	2 8.44		
				former	1 8.28		

Figure 6.5: Word Sketch for “citizen” in the international corpus

When considering collocations in the position of modifiers, many of them, apart from Croatian, refer to members of the LGBT community or other minorities in Croatia. Analysis of concordance lines shows that these representations often reflect the social position of the respective group, i.e. they are referred to as second-class citizens:

*"Before this campaign it seemed that we had become **a more tolerant society and that Croatia would allow us not to feel like second-class citizens**," Iva said. (File2755435)*

*Separately, **there is a law on same sex unions** which regulates the personal and property relations of homosexual citizens. (File2755338)*

With verbs used to describe the action of *citizens*, similarly to the national corpus, they are mostly presented as a single, unified group engaging in various processes, by social actors from both sides of the debate:

***The books with citizens' signatures were torn**, the webpage was hacked and the logo of the initiative „In the Name of the Family“ was copied by LGBT groups in order to **create confusion among the citizens wishing to express their opinion**. (File2755369)*

***Over 750,000 Croatian citizens have asked parliament to call a referendum** on a constitutional provision that would clearly define marriage in the Croatian constitution as “a life union of a woman and a man”. (File2406169)*

Collectively, Croatian citizens have been referred to as people in the international corpus and društvo in the national one. Apart from writing about *LGBT, gay, transgender and heterosexual people*, there are references to *young, ordinary, normal, good* and *people with bicycles*, the latter originating from a voter's statement expressing concern that people owning bicycles might be persecuted next. In addition to being an object to similar verbs like *voters, people* are subject of *decide, say, want, decide, choose*, etc.:

*At exactly the time when the new pope has decreed that it is time to move on and look elsewhere for battles to fight, **Croatian people have decided to attack for one more time.** (File2406126)*

*All we want is that **LGBT people choose another name** for the matrimony of the same sex couples. (File2406073)*

Even though it mostly denotes context or environment for social actions, in the national corpus *društvo* (*society*) also emerges as a social actor and participant in verbal processes in the national corpus. To sample down the concordance lines for analysis I have first created collocation candidates lists (*Table 6.14*):

*Table 6.14: Collocation candidates list for “društvo” in the national corpus*

<b>društvo</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Civilno	civil	83	9.31
2.	Poznavati	Know	78	9.50
3.	Jedinica	Unit	87	8.68
4.	obitelj	Family	152	5.14
5.	Osnovan	Basic	79	8.39
6.	razvoj	Development	56	8.20
7.	Zaklada	Foundation	44	9.28
8.	Hrvatski	Croatian	75	4.36
9.	Agencija	Agency	39	6.73
10.	Nacionalan	National	45	7.19
11.	Grad	City	39	6.73
12.	Temelj	Foundation/base	37	6.50
13.	Zagreb	Zagreb	41	5.87
14.	Vrijednost	Value (n)	32	5.77
15.	Brak	marriage	52	3.30
16.	Željati	Wish (verb)	32	4.35
17.	Svaki	every	27	4.54
18.	Postojati	exist	24	4.75
19.	demokratski	Democratic	17	5.82
20.	država	state	24	4.32

There are instances where *društvo* (*society*) is represented in a similar way to *građani* (*citizens*), as a homogenous group, potentially in conflict with minorities. *Društvo* (*society*) is a much more passive actor which has the potential for action and change but, as illustrated in the concordances below, this seems very difficult to achieve, and happens under the influence and following the actions of other actors:

*Društvo se teško mijenja, duboko su nam usađene tradicionalne, patrijarhalne vrijednosti i one se teško iskorjenjuju. (File2878652)*

*(The society doesn't change easily, the traditional, patriarchal values are deeply rooted and hard to remove.)*

*Nada se da će (...) cijelo društvo i država usmjeriti energiju u puno pozitivnije stvari koje su nam potrebne, a to je rješavanje nagomilanih gospodarskih i socijalnih problema. (File2878936)*

*(He hopes that the whole society and the state will focus their energy on more positive matters which are needed, and that is solving the piled up economic and social problems.)*

The representation of *društvo* (*society*) in the national corpus could be contrasted to the representation of *voters* in the international corpus. Exploring collocations for voters showed that they are considered primarily in terms of their eligibility for voting and nationality, but also in relation to their political orientation and attitude towards the referendum question. As a subject, *voters* cast their votes, make decisions, support, approve or ignore particular events or incentives. In media reports, they are also represented as objects which are being *urged*, *mobilised*, *encouraged* and *allowed*:

*Nearly 90% of Croatians are Catholic. On Sunday, when the vote took place, Catholic prelates, from their pulpits urged voters to support the amendment (File2755445)*

*As a result, they have jointly launched the "Citizens Vote Against" alliance to mobilize voters to stop the amendment. (File2755419)*

#### 6.5.2. Institutions and officials

The Croatian institutions and officials are salient actors in the national and international corpus. The Croatian Government and Parliament can frequently be found as a participant of verbal processes. These institutions mostly responded to actions coming from referendum supporters and opponents. Some of the verbal processes showed communication between different institutions in Croatia regarding



the referendum initiative, in particular between the Parliament and the Constitutional Court. In the examples below, the Constitutional Court in Croatia was shown as a particularly important institution as it was evaluating the legality of proposed marriage referendum:

*The constitutional court should **ban such a referendum**, which would target same-sex marriage, the left-liberal daily Novi List writes (File2755335)*

*It is worrisome to him that the **parliament refuses to ask the Constitutional court** whether the initiative is in violation of the fundamental law. (File2755338)*

Public ombudsmen are an example of complex social actors, where their official role is sometimes represented separately from their personal persuasions, potentially leading to a conflict or changing how people perceive their role. The *State Electoral Commission (Državno izborno povjerenstvo)* in Croatia was the institutional social actor that announced the news about the referendum vote:

*Josipović je istaknuo da će **Državno izborno povjerenstvo utvrditi je li prikupljeno dovoljno potpisa**, a sam referendum, rekao je, ako bi ograničavao prava manjina ne bi bio dobar. (File2879065)*

*(Josipovic noted that the **State Electoral Commission will determine if enough signatures have been collected**, and regarding the referendum, he said it would not be beneficial if it restricted the rights of minorities.)*

### 6.5.3. The experts and analysts

Many of the participants emerging from my identification of the verbal processes in the national and international corpus were categorised as experts. This is because the debate involved a lot of individuals (or groups of individuals) from areas like law, administration, human rights, sociology, politics, economy or medicine, who were invited to give an opinion on different aspects of the marriage referendum and the initiative “In the Name of the Family”.

In both corpora, these are mostly named individuals, already prominent in public life, but sometimes collectives such as *constitutional-law experts (ustavno-pravni stručnjaci)* experts or *political analysts (politički analitičari)* are also used.

*Vladimir Šeks (HDZ), jedan od autora hrvatskog Ustava, smatra da je u ovom slučaju procedura jasna, a referendumska volja građana obvezujuća i njome se mijenja Ustav. (File2878790)*

*(Vladimir Šeks (HDZ), one of the authors of the Croatian Constitution, believes that in this case the procedure is simple, and that the referendum will of the citizens is binding and it can change the Constitution.)*

*Digital Journal spoke to one of Croatia's leading PR experts and political analysts, Krešimir Macan on December 3, 2013, to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons behind the referendum and the potential fallout from it. (File2406148)*

Some of the experts remained neutral when offering their analytic views and interpretation of the situation and possible implications for Croatian society, while others sided with supporters or opponents of the referendum initiative. Nonetheless, the analysis of verbal processes and concordance lines showed that the actors were separate from the other two groups.

*Profesorica Barić, kako je izbrojala jedna volonterka, u proteklih je 10 dana više od 60 puta prozvala Ustavni sud koristeći medije – televiziju, radio, novine i portale, vršeći pritisak bez presedana u demokratskoj Hrvatskoj. (File2879093)*

*(In the last 10 day, as counted by one of the volunteers, Professor Baric called out the Constitutional Court over 60 times, using media – television, radio, newspapers and portals, pressuring with precedent in democratic Croatia.)*

The media reports, particularly in the international corpus, also include contributions from foreign experts, offering a different perspective on the socio-political situation in Croatia:

*Florian Bieber, a Balkan expert at Graz University, points out here Croatia is rather mainstream, in terms of legislation and outlook about homosexuality, among both central and southern European countries as well as former communist ones. (File2406145)*

#### 6.5.4. Media houses and journalists

In the online media reports that comprise both of the current corpora, the media themselves emerge as social actors in the marriage referendum debate. There are references to media in general, as well as to individual media houses or outlets. This is particularly the case in the context of a media boycott by the initiative “In the Name of the Family” who denied accreditations to journalists whom they thought were

biased and hostile to their work. Generally, the media bias is raised as a wider problem in the Croatian public sphere:

*Mediji su većinom u službi vladajućih, navodi Reiner, stigmatiziraju one koji imaju drukčiji svjetonazor od vladajućih i kod ljudi koji su "za" javlja se strah. (File2878837)*

*(Reiner states that the media are mostly serving the ones in power, stigmatising those who have a worldview different to theirs, and that's why the people who are 'for' start to feel afraid.)*

In the international corpus reports, *media* are represented according to their location but also ideological orientation, e.g. *Croatian, foreign, local, liberal*.

*While Croatian media all but completely ignored the outcome of the historic referendum, international media outlets made great efforts to show that the results were anything but the will of ordinary Croatian citizens. (File2755334)*

*Both the EU and the liberal media, which campaigned intensely against the referendum, have still not "swallowed" this family-friendly outcome. (File2755312)*

Individual journalists also emerge as social actors and sayers, although they do not seem to be as influential as the media houses. Their personal narratives or detailed opinions are given when these relate to the debate topic:

*Tom se taboru pridružio i Drago Pilsel, ekscentrični hrvatski novinar, kolumnist, politički aktivist i teolog koji je napustio svećenički poziv kada je u 90-tima stigao u Hrvatsku iz rodne Argentine. (File2878934)*

*(This camp was also joined by Drago Pilsel, an eccentric Croatia journalist, columnist, political activist and a theologian who left the priesthood upon arriving to Croatia from his home country, Argentina.)*

#### 6.5.5. Celebrities

Social actors with a celebrity status appear as sayers in both corpora. Even though they expressed their attitude towards the referendum initiative, the analysis of their representation and verbal processes they participated in showed that their main distinctive feature in corpus data was their celebrity status, rather than their engagement or activism for either side.

In the national corpus, this group included popular musicians, performers and athletes who sided with the "In the Name of the Family" or the LGBT groups, either officially

supporting the campaign or informally expressing their views on the referendum matter, as below:

*Obitelj je stup društva. U svakoj obitelji sve započinje s muškarcem i ženom, poručila je Blanka Vlašić. (File2878863)*

*(The family is the pillar of the society. In every family everything starts with a man and a woman, said Blanka Vlasic.)*

*Mile Kekin je poručio: „Koliko god je ovaj referendum jako besmislen, toliko je i jako važan. Jako je važno da izađu svi koji su PROTIV da ne budemo nadglasani kao dosada. PROTIV sam iz čistog razloga što ne mogu nikako naći suvisao razlog da nekome zabranim ono u čemu sam uživam, pogotovo da zabranim prava koja još nema.“ (File2405611)*

*(Mile Kekin said: As much as it's pointless, this referendum is important. It is important that everyone who is AGAINST votes, so we are not overruled as usually. I am AGAINST only because I cannot find a lucid reason to forbid somebody to do something I enjoy doing myself, especially in order to annihilate the right they don't even have yet.)*

The international corpus featured celebrities world-wide, who mostly sided with referendum opposition. “The xx” band were particularly involved in the marriage debate since they learned that “In the Name of the Family” illegally used their music in the campaign:

*Some artists and pop singers have stepped forward to voice their opinion on Croatia's same-sex marriage issue. BalkanInsight reports that American rock star **Bruce Springsteen** recently posted a message on Twitter that read: “For a long time I believed and spoke in favor of same sex marriage. I support those who promote that kind of treatment for our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters. Let their voices be heard now.” (File2406139)*

***Bob Dylan** Was Right About The Croats-- Most Are Still Fascists To The Core (File2755452)*

*London indie-pop trio **The xx** have issued a statement via their official Facebook page, condemning Croatian anti-gay marriage group *U ime obitelji*, which translates as *In The Name Of The Family*, for non-permitted use of their track *Intro* in one of the group's campaign ads. (File2755403)*

#### 6.5.6. Foreign actors

Foreign, mostly EU affiliated, politicians are also introduced in the marriage referendum debate in both corpora, sometimes directly, sometimes as sayers in statements reported by other actors. Foreign institutions and legal practice brought in powerful arguments in the debate:

*Europski sud za ljudska prava presudio je da zasad brak nije ljudsko pravo, ali da je država dužna zaštititi naš obiteljski život. (File2878703)*

*(The European Court for Human Rights made a judgement that for now marriage is not a human right, however, the state is obliged to protect our family life.)*

*Gospođa Catherine Ashton, visoka predstavnica Europske unije za vanjske poslove i potpredsjednica Europske komisije više je puta ponovila kako „EU niti promiče niti obeshrabruje izjednačavanje istospolne veze i braka“. (File2878935)*

*(Mrs Catherine Ashton, the senior representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and the vice-president of the European Commission, repeated several times that the EU neither supports or opposes the equalisation of the same-sex relationship and marriage.)*

The EU was presented both as a single institution and as a collective of its officials and representatives. As an institution and political organisation in the international corpus, the EU is most often introduced in the context of Croatia joining it in July 2013, in the middle stage of the referendum campaign. Therefore, many collocations are related to this process. Even though individual members of the European Parliament have overtly expressed opposition towards the marriage referendum, analysis of concordance lines shows that the EU has no official view on the matter:

*The EU leaves regulation of same-sex rights to every member state. (File2406084)*

*They argue that the EU lacks specific mechanisms to enforce human rights norms, let alone bring about reforms, once a country joins, and that new member states will continue to lag behind in providing the full spectrum of human rights to LGBT people. (File2755436)*

Other foreign actors mostly appear as sayers in mosaic media reports, containing several news reports from different countries.

#### 6.5.7. Summary

The Other Social Actors category is the most diverse and complex in the international corpus, as it involves actors not only from different countries but from different spheres of society. These actors were all to a certain extent influenced by the marriage referendum debate and its consequences but take part in it in different ways.

Political actors, especially those who are in power or affiliated with particular state bodies or official roles, seem to have the most influence over the debate and course of events. Other social actors often call them to action and evaluate their stance towards

referendum-related events, expecting them to support either of the sides and solve the situation without causing too much turmoil. In the national corpus, the experts from different fields, academics and professionals, were invited to join the debate but their ultimate point, as well as that of the politicians, seems to be that “the will of the citizens” will be the deciding factor in the referendum. In the international reports, the experts taking part in the debate seem to have the role of providing a more or less neutral account of the events taking place in Croatia, providing the readers with a better insight into the socio-political context of the marriage referendum.

The public institutions, even with the government and majority of parliament siding with the referendum opposition, seem to have more of a supervisory role. In fact, the Constitutional Court is the official body which mediated in the conflict regarding the legality of the referendum, deciding that marriage rights can be contents of a referendum question. Such position in the debate meant that referendum supporters were judgemental of institutions’ engagement, as well as referendum opponents, who expected the institutions to stop the referendum procedure and ultimately prevent the possibility of similar future initiatives.

Exploring the representations of Croatian people, citizens and voters, I have observed varying patterns of representation in media reports. In some cases, when talking or writing about *people*, the sayers include all of the citizens in Croatia, sometimes they refer only to those who are involved in the debate and will eventually vote. The referendum supporters, but opponents as well, seem to limit the notion of citizens to the non-LGBT majority, isolating the LBGT minority as separated from the rest of the group. In such representations, the supporters accuse the minority of trying to dominate over the majority and impose their views and moral values on the entire society. The referendum opposition, on the other hand, tries to present citizens and society as a concept that is supposed to include the LGBT minority, which is being deprived of certain social benefits and, in that, marginalised in the society.

The representation of the voters differs in the sense that they are under the more powerful influence of different interest groups and official institutions. As such, voters need to be mobilised, encouraged to choose a side in the referendum debate and, eventually, vote.

Croatian society is characterised as troubled, divided and inert, which has a negative impact on the majority, but in particular, on minorities like the LGBT community. Media are, on the one hand, asked to be the watchdog of the society, but on the other hand, accused of bias and even hate speech. The boycott of certain media houses introduced by the initiative “In the Name of the Family”, means that they are presented as victims and media as the aggressors who are misinforming the wider public.

The involvement of international celebrities is mostly the result of copyright issues with “In the Name of the Family” campaign. Generally, foreign social actors are less engaged in this category, with the exception of the EU. However, unlike its individual members, the EU as a political organisation shows a more detached view of marriage rights and events taking place in Croatia. Finally, in some reports, Croatian media actors and media sphere are represented as heavily biased in representing the debate and work of “In the Name of the Family”, which is described as detrimental to democracy and freedom of expression in Croatia.

#### 6.6. Discussion and concluding remarks

When discussing social actors in the current research project, it is necessary to consider again the size of the corpora, as well as the difference in their structure. Croatian media reports cannot be assumed to present a single narrative, even with different voices, and this even more true of reports in a more diverse international corpus.

Exploring social actors who were involved in the debate is important as it offers an insight into the mechanics of the process that led to the referendum outcome. Findings from both corpora show a great number of actors involved in the marriage referendum debate. These actors work in different fields, like law, politics, human rights activism, medicine, arts, religion, media, which highlights the overarching influence and impact of the debate topic on different social spheres. The engagement of foreign social actors attests the impact of marriage referendum extended beyond the borders of Croatia.



Categories of social actors that have emerged in both corpora show the polarised nature of the media debate. In many instances, when expressing opposing views, social actors have made it evident that, in doing so, they are opposing other social actors, rather than a particular attitude toward the constitutional definition of marriage. This highlights the pre-existing divide in Croatian society, and in turn, challenges the idea that the marriage referendum divided Croatian citizens. Looking at similar initiatives, like the petition for a referendum on the use of minority languages and script or the health education debate, it becomes obvious that divisions in Croatian society are much more enduring and deeper than media headlines, particularly international ones, suggest.

The category of social actors supporting the referendum is comparable over the two corpora, with the same groups found in both national and international corpora. *Željka Markić* is profiled as the leader of “In the Name of the Family” in both corpora. National reports introduce other members of the initiative, which is insightful for Croatian readers, who might be familiar with some of them, while the international reports omit these and simply report on wider support the initiative received from Croatian citizens, allowing the readers based outside of Croatia to understand the perspective of these supporters. When it comes to the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, in the national corpus their support is more linked to the Catholic majority of the population and constructed in the context of the global Roman Catholic Church and Catholic moral values. In the international reports, its role is very much localised, and it is presented as a powerful, not only a social but also, political actor with a primary objective of influencing, and in some cases almost governing, Croatian citizens.

There are several important aspects of the representation of the referendum opposition. The LGBT community in both corpora is at the core of this category. Individual activists are consistently featured as social actors in media reports, but the national corpus introduces more ordinary, grassroots members of the community, who share their personal stories. This could be seen as LGBT individuals have been presented to Croatian readers to help them understand their day-to-day reality in Croatia. The most prominent political opponents of the referendum, the Croatian President and Prime Minister, among other officials, do not hide their attitude towards the referendum



question. It seems that the mere fact they were so outspoken regarding this prompted some other social actors to side with “In the Name of the Family”. Considering the social divisions in Croatian society, the support from ruling party is not an entirely positive phenomenon for the LGBT or other minorities, as their rights and position in the society become just another point of conflict in a much wider feud between the left and the right.

The involvement of foreign actors from the EU is not as direct or extended as the referendum initiative and supporters suggest. While LGBT individuals affiliated with the EU judge the events in Croatia, there is no EU legislation that would warrant any intervention in matters of family law. Therefore, negative tensions towards the EU cannot be linked with political or legal arrangements ensuing from Croatia’s accession, these stem from EU cultural heritage and approaches to civic engagement.

The Croatian people and voters are important social actors in both corpora, but there are some differences in how they are represented in various media reports. While authors of Croatian-language reports present Croats as the ones who hold the power to make the decision in the referendum and change the Constitution, international ones present them as a group that is being highly influenced by different organisations, mobilised and even manipulated into casting a “yes” vote. When it comes to the representation of minorities, social actors supporting the referendum in both corpora tend to refer to them as separate from the rest of Croats and excluded from the term of *Croatian people*. This, in addition to previously mentioned divisions within the society, further aggravates the position of minority groups in Croatia. The international reports do highlight human rights issues as the core of the referendum debate, but data from the national corpus suggests the emphasis is placed on legislation and legality of the referendum procedure.

## 7. Representation of the main topics in marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus

### 7.1. Introduction

The previous chapter investigated which social actors were involved in the debate about the marriage referendum in Croatia and how these actors have been represented in the media reports in the national and international corpus. I showed that the composition of social actors reflected the polarisation of the debate. The groups of social actors were positioning themselves to oppose each other rather than the different views on the definition of the nature of marriage. This polarisation highlights the social and political divisions in Croatia. The focus of the analysis in this chapter shifts from asking *who* the social actors are who were involved in the debate to learning *what* these social actors had debated about.

While the wording of the referendum question (*Are you in favour of the constitution of the Republic of Croatia being amended with a provision stating that marriage is a life union of a woman and a man?*) clearly outlines what the citizens are asked about, the contents of the debate are not as obvious and in order to learn how they were represented in the international and national corpus it is important to examine which topics emerged in the reports and how these were represented in the media. The analysis in this chapter answers the following research questions:

- What are the main topics in the marriage referendum debate in national and international corpora?
- How are these topics represented in the corpora?

This chapter is organised so as to first present my approach to the questions and the analytical procedures underlying it. The approach to the two corpora was guided by the same principle, but there were some differences in the procedure due to software limitations regarding data in the Croatian language. The second part introduces the findings of my analysis and interprets them in the wider context of the project. The arguments I present in this section are related to findings from both national and international corpora, and reflect on similarities and differences between the two corpora.

## 7.2. Approaching the main topics in the media debate

### 7.2.1. Towards semantic domains

A possible approach to the semantic analysis of the corpus data is to make use of the Wmatrix software and identify the key semantic tags (see Potts 2016 and Potts and Kjær 2016). However, since Wmatrix and USAS are not compatible with Croatian language data, it did not allow for a consistent analysis procedure with both corpora in the present project, and I have adopted an alternative approach.

Thinking about topicality, prompted me to address concepts of meaning and semantics. When considered in terms of semantics, the vocabulary of every language is “internally structured by many clusters of words, which stand in different relations to each other, sometimes logical relations of sameness, difference and entailment, sometimes vaguer relations within a topic area or semantic field.” (Stubbs 2001: 35). One of the main features of these *semantic fields* is that they are not fixed but can be constructed dynamically around certain units (Gliozzo and Strapparava 2009: 16). Gliozzo (2006) introduces the notion of *semantic domains*, referring to semantic fields, which include lexically coherent words that frequently co-occur in the particular group of texts.

An example of the application of this understanding of language structures can be found in Kutter and Kantner’s (2012) study on news coverage of war and intervention, where they propose an approach called *corpus-based content analysis*. Drawing on the idea that every word belongs to a conceptual region, they argue that concepts in social science as well are comprised of particular key terms and words semantically related to them. They explain that

[c]orpus linguistic procedures (wordlists, concordances) allow for additional inductive reconstruction of lexical items or lexical fields that correspond to a social science category. Along with the semantic field theory, these tools and methods help to ‘turn’ content analysis into a corpus-based procedure that is adequate for the quantitative analysis of large text samples. (Kutter and Kantner 2012: 15).

The proposed analytical procedure includes specification of key terms and associates: a corpus analysis of lexical proxies of key terms, language contrasting and definition

of lexical variants; followed by text-mining, i.e. search for concordance lines containing items from the wordlists and, finally, quantitative analysis of the mined occurrences.

The above-mentioned study has started with themes predetermined (intervention, EU-Europe, actorness), but there are cases where this stage of the analysis is more inductive and corpus-driven. To exemplify, in their study of gender differences in keywords in the analysis of online cancer support groups and interviews, Seale et al. (2005) started their comparative analysis of the keywords list by classifying the keywords into meaningful categories. The inductive approach allowed them to be open to new findings. They note that “[t]his could be done in a more economical and potentially replicable manner than conventional qualitative thematic analysis based on coding and retrieval” (Seale et al. 2005: 2582).

Such an inductive approach to topics seemed suitable for application with wordlists I have compiled for my corpora. Given that the corpora for the current project were compiled using seedwords and that there was a significant difference in size, my analysis of the aboutness of the corpora focused on the frequency, rather than keyness. Using quantitative methods in the initial steps of the analysis allowed me to thematically structure the qualitative exploration of the reports in the corpora.

### 7.3. Public vs. private life: Polarisation of the media debate

The following section presents the key findings from this stage of the analysis, comparing the national and international corpus where possible. It should be noted that some of the words analysed, even though functioning as translational equivalents do not construct identical discursive patterns. Further analysis of the relevant concordance lines helps address these differences, as well as similarities.

The first step in the analysis involved identifying the most frequent words of lexical relevance in the corpora, as described in section 6.3. This process resulted in comparable wordlists for the national and international corpus, as shown in Chapter 6 (*Table 6.1* and *Table 6.2*) where they were used to analyse the verbal processes and identify the social actors in the corpora. In this chapter, I applied the principles of corpus-based content analysis to explore the wordlists and establish the semantic

domains in both corpora. In doing so, I was able to identify the most important topics in the corpus and engage with my first research question.

Looking at the list of most frequent lemmas of lexical relevance for the national corpus (*Table 6.1*), two distinct semantic domains emerge in the wordlist. The first domain I have established involved words used to refer to socio-political issues and words related to *public life* of a society. This domain included 25 out of 45 highest ranked lexical words from the national corpus:

**Public life:** *pravo* (right), *referendum* (referendum), *zakon* (law), *inicijativa* (initiative), *ustav* (constitution), *Hrvatska* (Croatia), *hrvatski* (Croatian), *građanin* (citizen), *sud* (court), *ustavan* (constitutional), *članak* (article), *društvo* (society), *Markić* (Markić, surname), *potpis* (signature), *odluka* (decision), *vlada* (government), *država* (state), *sabor* (parliament), *komentar* (comment(ary)), *politički* (political), *stranka* (political party), *birač* (voter), *narod* (people/nation), *medij* (medium), *zaštita* (protection).

This semantic domain includes words referring to institutions like *sabor* (parliament), *sud* (court), *vlada* (government) or *država* (country), groups involved *građanin* (citizen), *društvo* (society), *narod* (people/nation), but also ones denoting official procedures and actions, *referendum* (referendum), *odluka* (decision), *inicijativa* (initiative).

Next, I grouped the words related to the individual's private life. This group included 10 out of 45 highest ranked lexical words from the national corpus:

**Private life:** *brak* (marriage), *obitelj* (family), *dijete* (child), *zajednica* (union), *žena* (woman), *čovjek* (man/person), *muškarac* (man), *osoba* (person), *život* (life), *ljudski* (human).

The words in this category all refer to different types of interpersonal relationships between individuals and their respective roles in these relationships. Comparing the number of highly frequent words included in semantic domains, the *Public life* domain seems more represented than the *Private life* semantic domain in the national corpus.

Applying this procedure to the wordlist for the international corpus (*Table 6.2*), the same two semantic domains appeared. First, like in the national corpus, there is a

semantic domain revolving around socio-political issues and words related to public life. Out of 45 highest ranked lexical words in the international corpus, I have included the following 23 words in this domain:

**Public life:** *referendum, Croatia, right, vote, Croatian, country, government, people, law, constitution, European, group, Catholic, state, issue, EU, support, equality, Church, ban, constitutional, initiative, result.*

Apart from words similar to those in the *Public life* domain in the Croatian corpus, this semantic domain in English includes references to the Church and Catholicism, as well as the European Union.

Next, the group of words which emerged related to matters of an individual's personal relationships were grouped in *Private life* semantic domain. It included 9 Out of 45 highest ranked lexical words in the international corpus:

**Private life:** *marriage, women, man, same-sex, family, gay, partnership, union, couple.*

Again, there were fewer words in this domain than in the *Public life* one. In addition to references to family and different types of partnership, the *Private life* domain also includes adjectives referring to homosexuality.

Several points can be discussed in relation to the semantic domains which appear in the Croatian and international corpora. First, considerably more words have been listed in the Public life semantic domain in both corpora (25 and 23, as opposed to 10 and 9). This indicates that authors of the online media reports have directed their focus primarily on topics related to legal and institutional aspects of proposed constitutional changes, rather than the interpersonal relationships which are affected by these changes, which was not a necessarily expected pattern. Building on that, the further qualitative analysis will further explore the question of whether the central point of the debate as represented in these corpora is the referendum procedure, rather than the concept of marriage.

Secondly, there are similarities between the two corpora at this level of analysis. Both the national and international language corpora include two semantic domains, and there is a high level of correspondence in the wordlist structures. However,

International semantic domains include a slightly wider range of vocabulary than national ones.

In the next section, I explore the words from the *Public life* domain, analysing in-depth their collocation candidates list, Word Sketches, and, finally concordances in which they appear.

## 7.4. Public life semantic domain

### 7.4.1. Protection of rights

This subsection explores the discourse on *pravo* and *right*. Rights, human and civil, are one of the core ideas appearing in both national and international corpora. In the national media reports, *pravo* ((*right*),  $f= 3,936$ ) mostly appears to denote legal and/or social entitlement to certain social goods, although the same word can be used to indicate direction, meaning *forward* or *straight ahead*. My analysis has focused on the former, as it is much more frequent and relevant to my research questions.

Table 7.1: Collocation candidates list for “*pravo*” in the national corpus

<b>pravo</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Ljudsko	Human	629	7.67
2.	Imati	Have	579	5.42
3.	Manjina	Minority	206	6.58
4.	Brak	Marriage	351	4.20
5.	zaštita	Protection	201	6.09
6.	temeljno	Basic	147	6.87
7.	Sloboda	Freedom	107	6.20
8.	Zajednica	Union	196	3.99
9.	Europski	European	115	5.71
10.	Partner	Partner	98	5.87
11.	Zakon	Law	176	3.85
12.	Osoba	Person	138	4.40
13.	Dijete	Child	124	4.59
14.	Zadržavati	Keep	53	7.59
15.	LGBT	LGBT	86	5.60
16.	Konvencija	convention	48	7.47

*Pravo* (*right*) is premodified by adjectives such as *temeljno* (*fundamental*), *human* (*ljudsko*) or *civil* (*građansko*), which implies a stratification in the content of these

rights and the way they are distributed among different social groups. While some rights are written about as universally accepted, there seems to be a need to define some of the other rights. As shown in the concordance below, the authors do this by providing evidence from international legislation in the field of human rights or by appealing to tradition and the social norms that have been historically underlying the Croatian society:

***Europski sud za ljudska prava** presudio je da zasad brak nije ljudsko pravo, ali da je država dužna zaštititi naš obiteljski život. (File2878703)*

*(The **European Court for Human Rights** made a judgement that for now marriage is not a human right, however, the state is obliged to protect our family life.)*

*Ova definicija neće pri tome ugroziti nijednu drugu skupinu građana i smatramo da **ne zadire ni u čija temeljna ljudska prava**", rekao je Đurović. (File2879051)*

*(This definition will not endanger any other group of citizens and is **not considered to be infringing on anyone's fundamental human rights**, said Đurović.)*

When writing about rights, authors have referred to the *right to (pravo na)*, which encapsulated a wide range of different contents, like the right to marriage, children, parents, freedom of expression, inheritance, citizen activism, etc. The right to marriage and the right to have children (most prominent, the right to adopt), do not only emerge as the two most frequent semantic groups in this corpus but also seem to be inextricably linked to one another.

This seems to be of particular importance when it comes to expressing one's attitudes towards these rights being enjoyed by all citizens alike, regardless of their sexual orientation. Namely, one of the prominent attitudes communicated in these texts is that, while marriage being accessible to LGBT persons is tolerable, it is a concern that this will lead to rights of LGBT couples being expanded to adoption, which is not acceptable. Therefore, the right to marriage is, due to this link, also unacceptable and should not be enjoyed by LGBT persons. The following concordance presents the right to adoption in sharp conflict with the right to have two heterosexual parents (shown in the concordance below), and both of these rights cannot be retained simultaneously:

*Pravo djeteta na **roditelje** tj. oca i majku je iznad svih drugih prava koja se žele nametnuti kao jednakobitna. (File2879009)*

*(The **right of a child to have parents**, i.e. a father and a mother, is above all the other rights which are being imposed as equally important.)*



Some of the collocation patterns of *pravo* (right) in the national corpus indicate the attribution of rights to different social groups. Looking at concordance lines, it is apparent that there are often opposing views on which groups are entitled to which aspects of rights and how this should be decided on. While some rights are nominally offered to all individuals, it becomes a problem when these individuals are members of a minority group, such as the LGBT community.

*Donošenje Zakona ocjenjuju kao veliki korak naprijed za ljudska prava u RH i još veći za jednakost, dostojanstvo i prava LGBT osoba. (File2878712)*

*(Adopting this law is considered to be a big step forward for human rights in Croatia and even a bigger one for the equality, dignity and rights of LGBT persons.)*

*Zaštita prava manjina ne ugrožava prava većine, niti ih može ugroziti i ovdje je jednostavno riječ o govoru mržnje prema jednoj manjinskoj skupini. (File2878722)*

*(The protection of the minority rights does not nor can endanger the rights of the majority, and this is simply about hate speech targeting one minority group.)*

Difficulties arise when one group exercising their rights might be preventing another group from doing the same. The most prominent example here is the right of children to have two heterosexual parents, which some authors present as a basic, unalienable right of every child in Croatia. By allowing same-sex couples to form families, either by having or adopting children, these rights would no longer be available to these children:

*Ne mogu prihvatiti da se krše osnovna prava djeteta i obezvrjeđuje hrvatska tradicija. Nezamislivo mi je da im se omogući kroz brak da dođu do posvajanja djeteta. (File2878906)*

*(I cannot accept that basic children's rights are infringed on and Croatian tradition devaluated. I find it unthinkable that they are allowed to adopt children through marriage.)*

Since in some cases there is no consensus on the extent and nature of rights, space is created to negotiate them in the media sphere, but also to negotiate the legal procedure through which this is done, and which rights should be controlled. All sides agree that human rights and freedoms are in danger; however, there is no agreement on who or what is posing the threat. In some cases, it is presented as coming from particular individuals, social groups or imposed by impersonal institutions or legal documents. Similarly, opinions on who should protect the rights differ. Social groups in power are one of the candidates who could do this through legal instruments, but there is also a sense of collective responsibility, although it is often interpreted in opposing ways.

The frequency of the word *right* ( $f=793$ ) in the international corpus highlights its focal point in the media debate. Human rights are most often written about, and these are also further categorised and linked to certain social groups. LGBT persons and minorities, in general, are the most frequent beneficiaries of the rights, but also most often deprived of them.

*This was the last referendum in which a majority limits the rights of a minority. (File2754539)*

*It is really ridiculous that in a country pretending to be European its citizens are denied some basic rights. (File2406143)*

In the international corpus, the collocations with verbs convey a very clear message on the condition of rights in Croatia, as they are regarded as something that needs to be *improved*, *protected*, *supported* and *strengthened* and, even more acutely, that rights are *denied*, *violated* or *limited* for certain social groups or individuals.

With regards to this, Croatian institutions are expected to take action, but individual politicians are singled out too, as exemplified below:

*Improving the legal rights of same-sex couples was promised during the election campaign of the Milanovic's Social Democratic Party. (File2755417)*

*The violence in Split shows that Croatia still has a lot to do to properly protect human rights. (File2406143)*

In terms of the scope of rights, the right to marriage emerges less frequently than other rights, like the right to inheritance or adoption, shown in the concordance below:

*Our research focuses on the barriers that still exist to realise and exercise citizenship rights of EU citizens. (File2755337)*

*Women and men have the same inheritance rights in Croatia, and women enjoy equal inheritance rights as wives and as daughters. (File2406082)*

This might be due to the fact that human or LGBT rights are often used as an umbrella term, including marital rights as well.

Comparing the corpora, it is possible to notice similarities on the emphasis placed in the debate on discussing the concepts of rights and their current and future status in Croatia. However, there are also differences in how the rights are understood and

addressed in texts in the national and international corpora. In the former, rights have a much wider scope of the meaning and are considered in the context of the referendum and various social groups in Croatia. The international corpus has a tendency towards a more universal, comprehensive understanding of the rights, but examines them mostly in relation to the LGBT community.

#### 7.4.2. Referendum: A tool or a weapon?

Discourse patterns around *referendum*, *voting*, and *initiative* in the national and international corpus.

*Referendum* ( $f=2,425$ ) is a salient word from the *Public life* semantic domain in the national corpus. The analysis of the collocations shown in *Table 7.2* reveals several distinctive ways in which it is used to express the attitude of the authors towards the referendum.

*Table 7.2: Collocation candidates list for “referendum” in the national corpus*

referendum	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Brak	Marriage	153	6.38
2.	Građanin	Citizen	176	5.11
3.	Raspisati	Initiate	77	8.21
4.	Potpis	Signature	115	5.97
5.	Održati	Hold	85	6.80
6.	Ustav	Constitution	134	4.40
7.	Zakon	Law	139	4.21
8.	birač	Voter	93	5.55
9.	Izaći	Go out	56	7.37
10.	Ustavan	Constitutional	98	4.87
11.	Prvi	First	77	5.42
12.	Pitanje	Question	104	4.34
13.	Hrvatska	Croatia	110	3.75
14.	definicija	Definition	47	6.88
15.	Prosinac	December	54	5.89
16.	Odluka	Decision	72	4.68
17.	Inicijativa	Initiative	96	3.75
18.	Sabor	Parliament	68	4.69
19.	Prikupljanje	Gathering	42	6.59
20.	promjena	Change (n)	56	5.01

First, when writing about *referendum*, there are two most dominant practices the authors use. They refer either to its origin and highlight the fact that it is *citizen-initiated* and, as such, setting a precedent, or call it a *marriage referendum*, referring to the contents of the referendum question. *Referendum* as such is separated from the LGBT community and its members and linked, almost exclusively, to the idea of marriage. There are three main ways in which the idea of a referendum has been presented in the corpora. In some concordances, it is found that *referendum* is conceptualised as a process, of democratic nature, and as an ongoing series of events, where the focus is mostly on the actions preceding it, like collecting signatures, campaigning.

*Ustavni zakon o izmjenama Ustava iz 2010. naložio je Vladi da u roku od šest mjeseci donese zakon o referendumu. (File2879031)*

*(The Constitutional Law on the Amendments of the Constituion from 2010 stipulates that the Government adopts a law on referendum within 6 months.)*

*Potpisi za referendum prikupljeni su u rekordno kratkom vremenu. (File2405584)*

*(The signatures for the referendum have been collected in a record amount of time.)*

Secondly, the reports present the *referendum* as an achievement, something finally reached after a long journey, a result of sustained efforts by many individuals. Lastly, the referendum is seen as an instrument, as a means of achieving the goals of the social group that started it and all the citizens who supported it, rather than a goal in itself:

*Ovo je prvi referendum građanske inicijative u slobodnoj i nezavisnoj Republici Hrvatskoj, kao oblik neposrednog odlučivanja. (File2405573)*

*(This is the first referendum of the citizen initiative in free and independent Republic of Croatia, as a form of direct decision-making.)*

In the majority of above-described scenarios, *referendum* is regarded both positively and negatively. When represented as a negative process or final goal, the referendum is presented as something unnecessary, detrimental to society as a whole, and not just to a particular minority group:

*Upozorio je kako je s pravne strane referendum besmislen i upozorio kako bi Ustav trebao štiti sve manjine u društvu. (File2879075)*

*(He warned that, from the legal perspective, the referendum is pointless, and pointed out that the Constitution should protect all the minorities in the society.)*

*Očekivali smo da će državne institucije spriječiti referendum. (File2878936)*  
*(We have expected that the state institutions would prevent the referendum.)*

In the international corpus, two distinctive patterns emerge in concordances including the word *referendum* ( $f=1,075$ ). On the one hand, some words collocating with *referendum* communicate information about it and refer to it as a specific event in a neutral, objective way. However, some other collocations are telling of the authors' stand on the referendum initiative and procedure, as well as its final outcome. This can be illustrated using verbs such as *force*, and adjectives like *unnecessary* and *controversial*:

*The organisation U ime obitelji (In the Name of the Family), gathered enough signatures to force a referendum on whether to ban equal marriage. (File2755404)*

*Croatia is holding a controversial referendum on making same-sex marriages impossible in the future. (File2755331)*

Concurrently, the reports' authors point out the referendum is pointless and has a questionable legal effect, although it is targeting the highest law in the country. As such, the referendum is definitely a threat and something that should be prevented. From this viewpoint, the formal institutions in Croatia are the ones who should take actions to ensure it is not held and the referendum was an event or an outcome that was *allowed* or *agreed* on, as shown in the concordances below:

*Juras also said she was surprised that the government allowed the referendum to move forward in the first place. (File2755359)*

*Voters have approved a referendum defining marriage as union between a man and a woman. (File2754551)*

One of the major questions arising in relation to the representation of the referendum in the national corpus is what can and what cannot be regulated via referendum. On the one hand, as the referendum can be viewed as an ultimate expression of the people's will, all matters of social importance might be subject to a referendum procedure. However, there is a viewpoint that some aspects of social life like human rights and the rights of minorities are too important and should be protected from the whims of broad masses:

*Može se dogoditi da **nakon što se i građani pozitivno izjasne na referendumu** Sabor odluči da ne želi izmjene Ustava. (File2878929)*

*(It might happen that after the **citizens express a positive attitude in the referendum**, the Parliament will decide it does not want any constitutional changes.)*

*Milanović o referendumu o braku: Nisam za to da se **o pravima manjina odlučuje na referendum**. (File2879115)*

*(Milanovic about the marriage referendum: I'm not in favour of **the minority rights being decided on in a referendum**.)*

It seems that the ideas of a referendum as the ultimate embodiment of democracy is contrasted with the idea of a referendum as a threat to the most vulnerable groups in society. This issue becomes relevant when the possibility of another referendum arises, with the aim of limiting the right to use minority language and script in the public sphere.

*Table 7.3: Collocation candidates list for “vote” in the international corpus*

<b>vote</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Against	91	5.96
2.	Croatian	48	6.77
3.	Referendum	88	4.3
4.	Marriage	86	4.21
5.	Sunday	34	6.39
6.	For	70	3.73
7.	Majority	38	5.81
8.	Percent	36	5.97
9.	Croatia	65	3.88
10.	Favour	16	6.69
11.	Croat	19	5.98
12.	Gay	38	6.69
13.	Ban	29	5.12
14.	People	30	3.97
15.	Same-sex	25	4.17
16.	Call	20	4.49
17.	Parliament	19	4.74
18.	Public	16	4.65
19.	support	17	4.23
20.	voter	15	4.43

Following from the idea of democracy, *voting* and *vote* are particularly important concepts, especially in the international corpus. Both as a verb ( $f=334$ ) and as a noun ( $f=273$ ), *vote* collocates with a variety of other words, mostly pertaining to the socio-political domain. The collocates found in reports in the international corpus (*Table*

7.3), qualify vote as *referendum, marriage, for or against*, as well as indicating the effects or potential outcome of the referendum vote:

***The vote has divided European Union's newest member nation.** (File2755343)*

*In case of **a majority vote** saying "yes", Croatia's constitution will be amended to specifically define marriage as between a man and a woman. (File2755440)*

Voting is represented as an important civil act, performed by either a country as a collective or a homogenous group of citizens. While the process of voting itself is regarded neutrally or positively, as an expression of civic awareness and political engagement with current affairs, the end results of voting and its effects are not always seen favourably in the majority of media reports.

*Thus, the citizens of Croatia **decided by majority vote** to bring to their constitution the definition of marriage as only the union between a man and a woman. (File2755439)*

*Same-sex marriage has never been legal in Croatia, and so it was not banned by the result of **the popular vote** on Croatia's referendum. (File2755439)*

*700,000 signatures demanding **a nationwide vote** on gay marriage. (File2755419)*

From a different perspective, it could be argued that the ability to vote is presented as powerful and *vote* is regarded as a desirable tool or means, the access to which is worth asking or even fighting for.

*This is **the third referendum** Croats have voted in their twenty years of democracy. (...) Croatia's general public has voted to write a same-sex marriage ban into the country's constitution. (File2755349)*

In the national corpus, the word *inicijativa* (*initiative*,  $f=2,498$ ) appears very often in relation to the referendum procedure. Its use in the national corpus is almost exclusively connected to the group of citizens who have petitioned for the referendum on the definition of marriage, i.e. the initiative "In the Name of the Family". They have made an interesting, perhaps deliberate, lexical choice – *initiative*, rather than calling themselves a *movement*, an *organisation* or otherwise. This type of label certainly emphasises the proactive aspect of their work and the idea for the referendum is presented as coming from citizens and being organised and successfully implemented by them.

Although family itself is not the exact topic of the referendum question, the title “In the Name of the Family” is an argument in itself, highlight the concept of family as giving momentum to the initiative and motivating their work and efforts. The concordance below highlights the voluntary efforts of the members:

*Ministarstvo uprave utvrdilo je da su volonteri inicijative "U ime obitelji" prikupili dovoljno potpisa da bi Sabor raspisao referendum o njihovom zahtjevu da se brak ustavno definira kao životna zajednica muškarca i žene. (File2878748)*

*(The Ministry of Governance has established that the volunteers of the initiative “In the Name of the Family” have collected enough signatures.)*

Although some text authors link the group to political parties, its grassroots element is most frequently in the spotlight – frequent references to volunteers underline the human aspect of the group and reminding the readers that the initiative is based on voluntary work adds an altruistic element to their agenda. Another point that could be made is that mainly its head, Željka Markić, a strong leading figure, represents the initiative. There are a couple more names mentioned, but all the other initiative members remain a nameless, amorphous mass.

In terms of how the initiative is regarded, there is a polarity between acceptance and disagreement, but the latter is not expressed as fiercely as is the case with same-sex marriage or families with same-sex parents. In fact, the most frequent verb collocations include *support* and *start* and none of the statistical options has yielded highly ranked verbs expressing strong disagreement or opposition to the initiative in the national corpus.

#### 7.4.3. Challenging the law

This section explores the representation of the notions of *constitution* and *law* in the media reports.

While the international corpus focuses on rights to be affected by the referendum, in the Croatian-language texts a lot of attention is given the legislation which regulates and grants these rights. Words such as *zakon* (*law*) and *Ustav* (*Constitution*) are highly ranked in the Croatian-language wordlist. With *Ustav* ( $f=2,212$ ), this is partially due



to the fact that it is a crucial segment of the referendum question and, therefore, in the centre of the referendum procedure.

Collocations outside of the referendum question formulation mostly refer to political topics and institutional procedures.

*Unatoč upozorenjima, prijedlog odluke dobio je potrebnu većinu u Odboru za Ustav. (File2878908)*

*(Despite the warnings, the proposal of the decision won the necessary majority in the Constitution Committee.)*

*Mi očekujemo da vlast djeluje u skladu sa zakonom i Ustavom. Mišljenje pojedinca u vlasti nama nije bitno. (File2405789)*

*(We expect the authorities to act according to the law and the Constitution. The opinion of the individuals in power is not important to us.)*

Table 7.4: Collocation candidates list for “Ustav” in the national corpus

Ustav	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Unijeti	Introduce/enter	209	8.55
2.	RH	RH	248	7.27
3.	Odredba	Provision	226	7.68
4.	Promjena	Change (n)	184	6.85
5.	Odbor	Committee	112	6.96
6.	Brak	Marriage	191	4.15
7.	Republika	Republic	111	6.17
8.	ući	Enter	51	8.27
9.	Zakon	Law	127	4.21
10.	Hrvatska	Croatia	126	4.08
11.	sklad	Accordance	62	6.51
12.	Definicija	Definition	58	6.71
13.	Mijenjati	Change (v, cont.)	52	6.57
14.	Izmjena	Change (n)	42	6.88
15.	Članak	Article	69	4.58
16.	Saborski	Parliamentary	32	7.77
17.	Hrvatski	Croatian	59	4.67
18.	Promijeniti	Change (v, perf.)	38	5.60
19.	Sabor	Parliament	44	4.19
20.	trebati	Need (v)	52	3.55

The analysis of the concordances shown in Table 7.4. highlights that *ustav* (*constitution*) is written about in the corpus as something that is being (or should) be *changed*, and this change is represented as both a current process and as the ultimate goal of the process. In some accounts this change is linked with particular social actors

who are making an effort to achieve it, elsewhere, agents of this change have been omitted. The change in question is seen as either positive or negative.

*Ustav (Constitution)* has a complex relation to the notion of protection. On the one hand, some authors present the *Constitution* as something powerful, able and obliged to offer protection to those who need it. From this perspective, the constitution can be employed by social actors to ensure support for endangered groups.

*U članku 3 Ustava regulira se zaštitu ljudskih prava i temeljnih sloboda. (File2878725)*

*(The Article 3 of the Constitution regulates the protection of human rights and the fundamental freedoms.)*

*Ako će ovo izjašnjavanje potaknuti vlast da se snažnije angažira oko zaštite Ustava, institucija, manjina i građana u manjini, onda je 50 milijuna kuna dobro uloženo. (File2878858)*

*If this statement will encourage the authorities to engage more intensely in **the protection of the Constitution**, the institutions and minorities, then those 50 milion kunas were a good investment.)*

On the other hand, the authors imply that the constitution needs to be protected by social actors who have the authority to do so. These two perspectives are sometimes juxtaposed as opposing and mutually exclusive, and sometimes as complementary and equally valid.

*Zakon (law)*,  $f=2,623$ , is of major importance in the national corpus. Firstly, *zakon (law)* is written about as a reference point, a fixed concept that should be referred to evaluate different actions and processes. Concordances below show collocations with *sklad/accordance*:

*Hrvatska je slobodna zemlja slobodnih ljudi koji imaju pravo, **u skladu sa zakonom**, izražavati svoje mišljenje. (File2878889)*

*(Croatia is a free country of free people who, have the right, **in accordance with the law**, to express their opinion.)*

However, similarly to the constitution, there is a strong emphasis on the process of changing, amending and negotiating the law. From the latter position, the law is conveyed as an instrument to implement but also to prevent or annihilate social changes. The social actors' power, with regards to *law*, is reflected in their ability to influence these changes, as shown below in the example of President Josipovic:

***Predsjednik Ivo Josipović neki je dan na konferenciji „Otvorena Hrvatska“ ponovno pozvao na promjenu zakona o referendumu – kao cilj navodi da „izbjegnemo situaciju da putem referenduma dovedemo do narušavanja možda nekih temeljnih ljudskih prava“. (File2879088)***

*(At the “Open Croatia” conference the other day, President Ivo Josipovic called again for the change of the law on referendum – as the goal he stated avoiding a situation in which a referendum would lead to deterioration of human rights.)*

In terms of particular laws being discussed, the Family Law and the Law on life partnership seem to be the most frequent topics in the national corpus. However, the laws and legislation on the referendum procedure and constitutional law are often addressed in the media reports, indicating the importance of the meta-legislation and legislative competence of particular social actors and groups, both personal and impersonal.

#### 7.4.4. Institutional context of the referendum

The Public life semantic domain in both corpora includes the country, *Hrvatska/Croatia*, as well as *vlada/government*.

In the national corpus, the high frequency of the word *Hrvatska* ( $f=1,932$ ), in addition to the official name of the country (*Republika Hrvatska*), can be attributed to many other official institutional names, e.g. the *parliament*, *court* and *government* of Croatia. As shown in Table 7.5., frequent collocations also include *constitution*, *society* and *country*.

Table 7.5: Collocation candidates list for “Hrvatska” in the national corpus

Hrvatska	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Republika	republic	463	7.87
2.	Biti	Be	720	3.28
3.	Građanin	Citizen	136	4.51
4.	Ustav	Constitution	125	4.07
5.	Sabor	Parliament	91	4.87
6.	Vlada	Government	75	4.52
7.	Društvo	Society	66	4.18
8.	Država	Country	58	4.20
9.	Birač	Voter	49	4.39
10.	Savez	Union/alliance	26	6.85
11.	Demokracija	Democracy	41	4.89
12.	Cijel	Whole	35	5.10
13.	Stranka	Party	46	4.08
14.	Napredak	Progress	33	5.13
15.	unijeti	Introduce/enter	29	5.33

16.	Budućnost	Future	26	5.63
17.	Odredba	Provision	34	4.58
18.	Pokret	Movement	23	6.02
19.	Preporod	Rebirth	22	5.97
20.	Ustavan	constitutional	45	3.51
21.	Ulazak	Entering (n)	19	6.22

*Hrvatska* (Croatia) also appears in noun phrases which convey relationships of possession and/or belonging. The reports' authors communicate concerns about the direction of Croatia's development and its status:

*Izbor najsposobnijih zastupnika za Hrvatski sabor jedan je od preduvjeta **napretka Hrvatske**.*  
(File2405664)

*(Choosing the most competent representatives for the Parliament is one the preconditions of **Croatia's progress**.)*

*Kakva je zapravo **budućnost Hrvatske** nakon referenduma?* (File2405727)  
*(What will **the future of Croatia** actually be after the referendum?)*

It seems that Croatia itself is not an active agent here, but rather dependant on the actions of individuals and various social groups, like activists or the Church, illustrated in the concordances below:

*Za to samozvana "**ikona konzervativne Hrvatske**" nije dorasla, a puca od ambicija.*  
(File2879008)  
*(The self-proclaimed "**icon of the conservative Croatia**" is not up for the challenge, but is burning with ambition.)*

*Dodao je kako se u kampanju za referendum umiješala Crkva i time se dovelo u pitanje **je li Hrvatska sekularna država**.* (File2878842)  
*(He added that the Church got involved in the campaign, questioning **if Croatia is a secular country**.)*

In the international corpus, there are several distinguished patterns of use of the word *Croatia*. Firstly, it appears as an adverb of location, to provide information on where the debate or referendum took place. Secondly, it used to refer to the country as a relatively homogeneous political entity and a homogenous social collective. This

collective unanimously takes actions, *starts* a referendum, *holds* it, *votes* in it, *bans* marriage and declares its values to the world.

*Croatia is holding a controversial referendum on making same-sex marriages impossible in the future. (File2755331)*

*Despite opposition from the political leadership of the country, Croatia voted to ban marriage equality on Sunday. (File2755333)*

In this sense, Croatia is regarded either positively, as an example of what the rest of Europe and the world should look up to, or very negatively, as *a conservative and hostile environment*, unpleasant to be in or interact with, an entity that should be boycotted. The negative attitude towards Croatia is evident in collocations where it is referred to as *divided* or *broken*, and occasionally different social actors are singled out.

*After war, nothing has divided Croatia like this referendum. (File2755316)*

*The LGBT population is just one of the discriminated communities in Croatia. (File2755409)*

*After intense public demonstrations on both sides this weekend, voters in Croatia went to the polls and sided against marriage equality. (File2754549)*

There are also specific Croatian institutions mentioned, sometimes as an extension of collective Croatia, sometimes confronting this collective.

In the *Public life* domain in the international corpus, references to institutional context are a very important element of the debate; *government* ( $f=476$ ), in particular, is a highly prominent topic. In the majority of texts, the government in question is the Croatian social-democratic one, which was in power in 2013, when the referendum was held. Premodifiers are mostly used here to communicate its political orientation.

*The centre-left government, rights activists and prominent public figures had all spoken out against the measure. (File2754547)*

*Church leaders are often complaining about the non-existent dialogue with the current, left-wing government. (File2754546)*

The *government* is presented as a single, homogenous entity, and only a couple of politicians are singled out, most notably the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović. In terms

of its actions, for some of the authors, the government is responsible for the referendum, as the initiative “In the Name of the Family” appeared in response to the announcements of laws regulating life partnerships and providing more civil rights to same-sex couples. There are different views, where the government is presented as trying to fight a potentially threatening extreme social group and alleviate the consequences of their actions:

*Thus, a government proposed amendment to the constitutional amendment procedure, could in itself be considered an abuse of power. (File2755325)*

*While anti-gay marriage forces might be crowing about this “victory,” Croatia’s pro-equality government has said it certainly isn’t done with this fight yet. (File2755349)*

However, this government, even though it eventually implemented the initially proposed law is still perceived as a weaker social actor who lost in the conflict and was not able to act against the will of large masses:

*The Croatian government was thus forced to accept the fact of the referendum, but it seems as though it took its results as an opportunity to display verbal wits. (File2755423)*

*In the nation’s first-ever, citizen-initiated referendum, Croatians asked their government to preserve marriage as the union of a man and a woman. (File2755370)*

This part of the analysis highlights the wider context of the marriage referendum debate and reveals different positions on the perspective of Croatia and its government. On the one hand, the official institutions are meant to have control and should be responsible for the events following the referendum initiative, but on the other hand, particularly in the international corpus, Croatia is also written about as divided and negatively affected by the marriage referendum debate, and even as a victim of events staged by others.

#### 7.4.5. Main points from the analysis of *Public life* semantic domain

From the exploration of the collocations, concordances and the semantic networks in the *Public life* semantic domain, three subtopics emerge in the reports on the marriage referendum debate. First, the topic of right is particularly important and complex in the national corpus. The dichotomy of *pravo na* (the right to) and *pravo nekoga* (the right of someone), opens the question of the changing scope of the human rights field,

and the social distribution of entitlement to rights. However, the challenge of managing, developing and preserving different rights is salient as well, especially in relation to other concepts in this domain. The concept of right is significant in the international corpus as well. The notion of *right* is less versatile here, it predominantly related to the concept of LGBT rights and human rights in general. Managing and preserving these rights is a crucial issue and calls for the involvement of social actors, both personal and impersonal ones.

Legislation and meta-legislation are central topics in the *Public life* semantic domain. The analysis of words like *ustav* (*constitution*) and *zakon* (*law*), showed some interesting similarities. Media reports' authors and social actors involved in them usually express polarised views regarding legal acts and procedures, depending on how they perceive the process of their developing and potential social effects. The emphasis is placed almost equally on the process of negotiating and changing the law, as well as on its contents. In the international corpus, there is a considerable alteration in how the word referendum is used and how this concept is constructed. The referendum is referred to as an event, as a news item, and its political and civic effect is scaled down. Citizens' engagement and political activism is addressed, but mostly through the process of voting, as a response to the referendum.

Finally, social groups and entities emerge in this domain as well, in particular, *inicijativa* (*initiative*) in the national corpus, as the proclaimed instigator of this process. *Croatia*, as a country, is considered mostly as a context in which different social actions take place, but also as an object of these actions, whose future is at stake. In the international corpus, it emerges in a fairly similar way. Apart from geopolitical context, it assumes more agency in the international corpus. In these cases, it is regarded negatively, as opposed to instances where it is presented as a passive actor, affected by social changes, rather than in charge of them. Lastly, Croatia's position in the European and global socio-political context is considered to a somewhat greater extent.

## 7.5. Private life semantic domain

### 7.5.1. Negotiating marriage

After exploring the topics in the *Public life* semantic domain, I have analysed the domain *Private life*, focusing the most frequent words on the wordlist. This section explores the patterns around *marriage*, *union*, *couple*, and *partnership*.

Table 7.6: Collocation candidates list for “brak” in the national corpus

brak	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
	Zajednica	Union	979	6.25
2.	Biti	Be	1632	3.12
3.	žena	Woman	589	5.93
4.	životan	Life	317	6.93
5.	muškarac	Man	249	4.99
6.	definicija	Definition	145	7.14
7.	obitelj	Family	298	4.19
8.	pravo	Right	246	3.69
9.	istospolni	Same-sex	112	6.38
10.	Ustav	Constitution	192	4.16
11.	Jedino	Only	103	6.11
12.	struktura	Structure	18	7.11
13.	isključivo	Exclusively	48	5.48
14.	sklapanje	Entering/making	32	6.91
15.	stupiti	Enter/make	32	6.85
16.	ljudsko	human	36	6.10
17.	odredba	provision	47	4.52
18.	zaštita	Protection	121	5.30
19.	Ustavan	Constitutional	144	4.66
20.	držati	Hold	84	6.30

In the national corpus, I have started the analysis with the word *brak* (*marriage*),  $f=4,105$ , and compiled a collocations list shown in Table 7.6. Firstly, *brak* (*marriage*) frequently appears in the referendum question and elsewhere within the phrase *marriage is a life union of a woman and a man*.

*Jeste li za to da se u Ustav Republike Hrvatske unese odredba po kojoj je brak životna zajednica žene i muškarca?*

*Are you in favour of the constitution of the Republic of Croatia being amended with a provision stating that marriage is a life union of a woman and a man?*

Given the dominance of this pattern in the corpus, it is possible to consider it in relation to the phenomenon of incremental effect (Baker 2006) it has on the overall discourse



on marriage in Croatian media space, but also in public space generally. If there is a strong co-occurrence of certain words or sets of words, they become embedded in communication and influence the opinions and understandings that people have.

The second insight from this section of the analysis, somewhat opposing the first one is that *marriage* is presented as something that is to be defined and redefined. The space for negotiation is open to various definitions, some sociologically or otherwise scientifically grounded, and others relying on the tradition and old (and, therefore, right) ways in which social relationships were established. The collocations of *brak* (*marriage*) with verbs *be* (shown in concordances below) and *(re)define* indicate furthermore the changes that have arisen.

***Brak je osnova obitelji.*** (File2405851)

*(Marriage is the foundation of a family.)*

***Brak je zajamčen kao zajednica između muškarca i žene.*** (File2405556)

*(Marriage is guaranteed as a union between a man and a woman.)*

***Brak je ljudsko pravo.*** (File2405802).

*(Marriage is a human right.)*

These are mostly linked to the emergence of same-sex couples but changes in heterosexual relationships and marriages are addressed as well:

***Danas se sam heteroseksualni brak bitno razlikuje od onoga kako je izgledao prije pedeset godina.*** (File2878623)

*(Nowadays the heterosexual marriage is considerably different than what it looked like fifty years ago.)*

When considering verbs that denote the start of a marriage, *sklopiti/sklapati* (*form*) are mostly used. These verbs convey the act of formation where the agency assumed by partners, rather than marriage presented as something that pre-exists and is entered by partners.

The analysis of premodifiers occurring with *brak* in the national corpus has shown the main basis for identification and appraisal of different types of marriage. The first criterion is the structure of marriage, mostly with regards to the sex of the partners.

Different-sex marriage has been contrasted with same-sex marriage, with authors either seeing these two as equally valid and acceptable, or expressing negative attitudes towards same-sex marriage and favouring different-sex marriage on the grounds of it being more traditional. Concordances below show examples of neutral and negative attitudes, respectively:

*Istospolni brak je brak između dviju osoba istoga spola. Pojam je političke naravi. (File2405525)*

*(Same-sex marriage is a marriage between two persons of the same sex, the term is of the political nature.)*

*Ja ne bih nikada ušao u istospolni brak, ali mislim da je sasvim u redu ako to netko drugi želi. (File24056450)*

*(I would never enter into a same-sex marriage but I believe it is perfectly fine if someone else wants to do that.)*

*Kad čujem za istospolni brak jednostavno mi pozli... (File2405657)*

*(When I hear about the same-sex marriage, I just feel nauseous...)*

The second criterion is that of the institution confirming and recognising the *marriage*. There is a notable contrast here as well, between *church* and *civil/state* marriage. However, the authors are not opposing one or the other here; they are simply asserting that these are two separate forms of marriage, and as such should not be compared or treated legally in the same way.

*Ne želimo živjeti u društvu u kojem će se nekome oduzimati pravo da svoju zajednicu i svoju ljubav, ako želi, naziva bračnom te zato što stvarno i nažalost gej brak nije isto što i brak. (File2878639)*

*(We do not wish to live in a society in which somebody will be deprived of the right to call their union and their love marital, if they wish, because really, and unfortunately, gay marriage is not the same thing as marriage.)*

In the international corpus, *marriage* is not only highly frequent but also frequently collocates with verbs and nouns that convey the relational, communicative quality of this concept – it is highlighted that the meaning is being *constructed and negotiated* between different groups of social actors, just like in the national corpus.

*They have urged followers among Croatia's 4.2 million inhabitants to vote "yes" to define marriage as a "union between a woman and a man." (...) Croatia's constitution currently does not define marriage. (File2754544)*

*The constitutional definition of marriage deprives "wilful" politicians of the possibility to randomly redefine marriage and family. (File2406190)*

Various attitudes that social actors have towards marriage are to some extent expressed in the verbs that are used to report about views on marriage and different types of marriage.

*Marriage is **not threatened by same-sex groups** but by the modern way of life, the race to earn money. (File2406084)*

*Croatians vote to **protect marriage** from redefinition. (File2406169)*

*Sparks Fly As **Referendum Bans Same Sex Marriage**. (File2755330)*

*Croatia's constitution will be amended with the article **outlawing any same sex marriage**. (File2754554)*

In addition to *brak/marriage*, there are other expressions used to write about a relationship between two people. One such word is *zajednica* (union, f=2,645).

In the national corpus, with premodifier *bračna* (marital), it could be considered an equivalent of the word *brak* (marriage). However, with other premodifiers, like *homoseksualna* (homosexual) and *istospolna* (same-sex), *zajednica* (union) is presented in two different ways.

*Druga strana pokušala im je objasniti da **istospolne zajednice** već postoje te im se mora omogućiti dostojanstven život i prava koja imaju ozakonjeni žensko-muški parovi. (File2878746)*

*(The other side tried to explain that the **same-sex unions** already exist and that they need to be able to have dignified lives and the same rights as legalised female-male couples.)*

*U pozadini potpisivanja referenduma stajala je teza da će **homoseksualne zajednice** ugroziti one heteroseksualne. (File2878703)*

*(In the background of the referendum was the thesis that homosexual unions will endanger the heterosexual ones.)*

From concordances like the above, firstly, it is viewed as something that is different from and, in fact, is not marriage. Secondly, this type of union can be viewed as a subtype of marriage, especially if paired with *heteroseksualna zajednica* (heterosexual union).

With that in mind, if the collocational patterns of *zajednica* (union) is compared to those of *marriage*, certain similarities can be noted. The sex of the participants of both

*brak* (marriage) and *zajednica* (union) is the primary basis for categorising different types of these interpersonal relationships, and *homosexual* and *heterosexual* are usually contrasted, with *homosexual* being more represented in the national corpus. The second criterion – the legal status of the relationship or the official entity that recognised it, is likewise shared by these two words. However, there are some differences too. Whereas with *brak* (marriage), there is a strongly expressed negative position towards the same-sex marriage, with *zajednica* (union) this is not the case to such an extent. Authors do take a negative view of same-sex union, but they are verbalised more moderately, without violent expressions of disgust or hatred. When it comes to legalising these relationships, for *zajednica* (union) it is only relevant whether these are marital or not, without many references to civil or religious unions (the latter do emerge in the corpus but to denote social groups rather than interpersonal relationships).

*Brak je vrijedan, ali nisu manje vrijedne veze osoba istog spola, izvanbračne zajednice i djeca s jednim roditeljem. (File2878852)*

*(Marriage is valuable but **same-sex relationships are not less valuable**, just like **non-marital unions** and children with a single parent.)*

*Vrlo važna su i istraživanja koja pokazuju da su upravo obitelji zasnovane na **bračnoj zajednici**, one koje su najstabilnije i najviše doprinose cjelokupnom društvu. (File2878971)*

*(Equally important are the studies showing that precisely the families founded on **marital union** are the most stable and contribute the most to the whole society.)*

Lastly, when premodified by *obiteljska*, *zajednica* adopts a new meaning, separate from *brak* (marriage). *Obiteljska zajednica* (family union) can be regarded as a semantic equivalent of *obitelj* (family), other meanings appear in the national corpus too. One of the meanings is actually equivalent to the marital union, i.e. two partners can be considered a family. The other meaning of family union is linked with the union of two same-sex partners, as opposed to family, which is in that case only a union of two different-sex partners (often with children). It can be argued that the use of *zajednica* (union) is not as polarised as the use of *brak* (marriage), but much more complex and revealing intricate relations within the semantic domain of interpersonal relationships.

Table 7.7: Collocation candidates list for “union” in the international corpus

union	Collocation candidate	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	European	123	7.22
2.	Man	101	6.65
3.	Marriage	92	4.83
4.	Woman	48	5.21
5.	Join	27	6.64
6.	Civil	27	6.59
7.	Same-sex	36	5.22
8.	Only	22	5.08
9.	Democratic	14	5.94
10.	New	13	4.53
11.	Heterosexual	9	5.51
12.	Member	12	4.40
13.	Other	13	4.03
14.	Croatian	15	3.27
15.	Form	7	5.25
16.	Define	9	4.10
17.	Legal	7	4.02
18.	Law	9	3.22
19.	Croatia	15	3.29
20.	same	7	3.55

In the international corpus, collocations presented in *Table 7.7.*, show that European Union ( $f=123$ ) is the most frequent collocation, referring to a political rather than personal relationship. Further analysis of concordances pertinent to the word *union* reveals that the latter is used to refer to both homosexual and heterosexual relationships.

*Marriage is the **only union enabling procreation.** (File2406118)*

*This is the key difference between a marriage and **other unions.** (File2754547)*

Second, when used to refer to a heterosexual relationship, types of *union* collocations distinguish a heterosexual relationship from all the other type of relationships and, frequently, attribute a higher value to it.

*I expect that the results will not be an obstacle to jointly support legislation that will guarantee the safety to **same-sex unions.** (File2755439)*

*Croatians voted to ban marriage equality yesterday in a setback for LGBT rights, but government ministers in this heavily Catholic nation will immediately seek to legalize **civil unions**. (File2754547)*

*As I pointed out earlier, **gay civil unions** are almost certainly going to be legal soon. (File2755405)*

The next word, I have analysed is *par* (*couple*, *f*=333). The analysis of collocational patterns in the national corpus shows an expected contrast of the ideas of different- and same-sex couples, but it can be observed that the word *par* is most frequently used to denote couples other than heterosexual, married and fertile couples. The expression seems to be used to highlight how different all the other couples are from what is perceived or advocated as the norm:

*Međutim, to pitanje za sobom povlači jednu novu problematiku, a to je posvajanje djece od strane **homoseksualnih parova**. (File2405607)*

*(However, this question brings up a new problem, and that is the adoption of children by **same-sex couples**.)*

*Za vrijeme trajanja kampanje, prije 10-ak dana, na splitskoj Brodarici brutalno su pretučene dvije maloljetne djevojke od 16 i 17 godina jer ih je **skupina od desetak vršnjaka «identificirala» kao lezbijski par**. (File2878642)*

*(During the campaign, about 10 days ago, a 16 and 17-year old girl were brutally beaten up in Brodarica, Split, **after their peers identified them as a lesbian couple**. )*

Some of the phrases with *par* in the Croatian corpus are related to reproduction or adoption, but *par* (*couple*) itself is not linked with family or mentioned when writing about the family as a whole. This might indicate that couples, other than heterosexual ones who reproduce, are regarded as separate from the idea of family.

*Također, predviđeno je **neformalno životno partnerstvo** – svojevrsni pandan izvanbračnoj zajednici kod heteroseksualnih parova. (File2405710)*

*(Also, **non-formal life partnership** has been included – an approximate equivalent of a non-marital union for heterosexual couples.)*

In the international corpus, there is a difference in how *union* and *couple* are used. There is a more balanced distribution of different types of *couples*, especially when it comes to premodifications. However, when other frequently collocating words are considered, it appears that same-sex couples are in focus in of the concordances and there is a strong emphasis on accessing social goods and experiences.

*In 2003 Croatia adopted a law recognising same-sex couples who have lived together for at least three years although apart from official acknowledgement, the measure grants them few rights. (File2754547)*

*Croatia is drawing up a law on same-sex civil unions to provide equal rights to them as to heterosexual married couples, possibly including adoption rights. (File2755431)*

Other concepts to emerge in the national and international corpus *Partnerstvo* (partnership, *f*=430) and *partnership* (*f*=83), respectively. *Partnerstvo* (partnership) is primarily used in Croatian media reports to refer to same-sex marriage relationships, with the rare exception of denoting an unmarried heterosexual couple. The legal aspect of this relationship is central to its meaning, given that is it most often mentioned in the title of a particular law, and evident from the way the registering aspect is emphasised, rather than any other features of the relationship.

*Sabornike upozorava kako postoje značajni razlozi zbog kojih nije ispravno glasati za prijedlog Zakona o životnom partnerstvu. (File2878930)*

*(MPs are warned that there are important reasons for it not being right to vote for the proposal of the Life Partnership Law.)*

*Država je ovim Zakonom o životnom partnerstvu napokon priznala da postojimo, ali daleko je to od onoga čemu težimo, a to je potpuna jednakost. (File2878642)*

*(By adopting this Life Partnership Law the state has finally admitted that we exist, but this is far from our goal – complete equality.)*

The examples from the national corpus show a range of different attitudes toward the concept of partnership, from strong opposition to welcoming.

In the international corpus, the analysis of collocation candidates and concordances for *partnership* showed its use is in line with expressions analysed in this section. *Partnership* is presented in terms of its participants; however, there is a slightly stronger emphasis on the legal regulation of this form of relationship, which is often written about in connection to approving, granting, protecting, etc.

*Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic said the Croatian government will press ahead with the law allowing civil partnerships for same-sex couples. (File2406117)*

*The Eastern European country of Croatia on Tuesday approved a law granting civil partnerships for same-sex couples. (File2755322)*

Since same-sex partnerships are actually being registered and implemented in Croatia, this might indicate a shift from producing (dis)alignment to producing and negotiating support for individuals who chose them.

*At the moment, if you're in a same-sex civil partnership or marriage, and you travel to a country where those rights are not granted, **your rights are diminished**. (File2754550)*

*History was created in Zagreb as **the first life partnership** was concluded between two men. (File2406164)*

*However, I am glad that the government indicated it will continue on **the road to equality by giving greater rights to same-sex couples** through registered partnerships. (File2755318)*

Finally, I have analysed the possible participants of a marriage, a union, partnership or a couple. *Žena* (woman,  $f=1,985$ ) in the national corpus appears frequently and most often in the semantic and textual context of marriage. *Žena* (woman) is one of the two desirable participants of marriage and, in this sense, appears whenever marriage is written about. No other close premodifications or postmodifications have been found to offer a deeper insight into the representation of women.

*Ogromna većina Hrvata (65.8%) glasovala je protiv istospolnog „braka“ i dala podršku definiciji obitelji kao jedino **zajednici žene i muškarca**. (File2405739)*

*(The vast majority of Croats (65.8%) voted against the same-sex 'marriage' and supported the definition of family only as **a union of a woman and a man**.)*

Other contexts in which *žena* (woman) appears in the corpus is in relation to the family and, in particular, children. The phrase *žene i djeca* (women and children) could be considered a fixed collocation in Croatian language and indicates not only women's strong connection to the family and motherhood, but also the likelihood of being in a vulnerable situation. This is further observed in the analysis of the phrase *nasilje nad ženama* (violence against women) which emerges in the debate on marriage but is mostly prompted by reporting on (inter)national initiatives and days dedicated to fighting it.

*Napadima na našu djecu i žene žele spriječiti građane da se slobodno očituju na referendum. (File2405544)*

*(By attacking **our women and children** they are trying to stop the citizens from having their say in the referendum.)*



*Tijekom većeg dijela povijesti, u brak se nije stupalo iz ljubavi, **niti su žene imale pravo izbora partnera.** (File2405599)*

*(For the longer part of the history, people didn't marry for love, **and women did not have the right to choose their partner.**)*

Similar remarks can be made about the use of the word *woman* (*f*=459) in the international corpus. First, *woman* emerges as a participant of a two-partite social arrangement, where it is necessary that the other participant is a man.

*Gay rights supporters have protested in Zagreb against a referendum on whether marriage between **a woman and man** should be anchored in Croatia's constitution. (File2754544)*

*I think that determining marriage between **a man and a woman** does not belong in the constitution. (File2755453)*

Another representation of *woman* is that determined by her social role as a mother and/or her disadvantaged social position, which leaves her in need of protection.

***Roma women** in particular are negatively stereotyped in the Croatian media. (File2406082)*

***A Croatian woman** attaches a message on the Christmas tree erected in Zagreb's main square calling for a "No" vote. (File2754549)*

*The project called «Social and Economic Re-Integration of Women Who Suffered in the Homeland War», with the aim of ensuring the protection of, aid to and training of **refugee women.** (File2406083)*

The word *muškarac* (*man*, *f*=1,611) has a one-dimensional use in the national corpus. The exploration of the collocations of *muškarac* (*man*) shows that the authors of the media reports represent man primarily, and almost exclusively, as a participant of a relationship or marriage. It is clearly indicated that the preferred structure of these relationships involves a heterosexual man and a woman. The analysed concordances mostly exhibit assumed heterosexuality, and gay men are seldom mentioned, mostly to be singled out for being of this particular sexual orientation. These examples most often point out the flaws of their love life and partnerships and negate the idea of these being called families.

***Dva muškarca** ne mogu sačinjavati obitelj, jer ne mogu stvoriti ni djecu. (File2405817)*  
*(**Two men** cannot form a family because they cannot even have children.)*

In the international corpus, it is possible to note two different ways of writing about men. Just like *woman*, *man* ( $f=356$ ) is a participant of a *marriage*, *union* or *matrimony*. In these cases, man has no other characteristics or agency; he is determined only by his sex.

*It was a landslide victory for those who wanted marriage to stay exclusive as a union between a man and a woman. (File2754554)*

*In yesterday's referendum, two thirds of voters in Croatia opted to define marriage as 'matrimony between a man and a woman' in the constitution. (File2755318)*

*Trying to corrupt the God given idea of marriage between a man and a woman is going against God and society. (File2406174)*

On the other hand, there are references to men in the corpus which include their age or nationality. Finally, the phrase *gay men* also appears to indicate the identity of specific men, and to distinguish them from heterosexual men.

*I have seen dozens of gay men sunbathing on this rocky Rovinj beach—not just local Croatians, but also visitors from nearby countries. (File2406121)*

*When two gay men express affection for each other, they put their lives at risk. (File2406143)*

### 7.5.3. Family as a fundamental social value

Closely linked to the concept of marriage is that of family. Even though it has not been a part of the referendum in strict terms, it has been a recurring topic in the marriage referendum debate. The collocation candidates list is shown in *Table 7.8*.

*Table 7.8: Collocation candidates list for “obitelj” in the national corpus*

obitelj	Collocation candidate	(Translation)	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Ime	name	1602	7.74
2.	Biti	Be	862	3.31
3.	Brak	Marriage	301	4.21
4.	Inicijativa	Initiative	248	4.65
5.	Okupljati	gather	87	7.76
6.	Jedinica	Unit	83	6.99
7.	Pojedinac	Individual	89	6.68
8.	Udruga	NGO/association	108	5.55
9.	Osnovan	Basic	77	6.73

10.	građanski	Civil	84	5.60
11.	djeca	Children	95	3.77
12.	zaštita	Protection	60	4.58
13.	temelj	Foundation	44	5.13
14.	Markić	Markić	62	3.86
15.	član	Member	45	4.57
16.	Vrijednost	Value	33	4.19
17.	Željka	Željka	32	4.17
18.	Prikupiti	Gather/collect	20	5.53
19.	Činiti	Do	24	4.08
20.	Društvo	Society	36	3.07

Starting from the name of the initiative that petitioned for the referendum, “In the Name of the Family”, to more elaborate discussions on what family is and what it should and should not be.

In the national corpus, similarly to the idea of marriage, there is a negotiation of the meaning of *obitelj* (family,  $f=3,354$ ). With this topic, the attitudes are expressed more directly, even with traces of hostility and disrespect. This could be viewed in the light of the idea that the family is in serious danger and needs protection:

*Obitelj je danas u velikom problemu i moramo podržati tu obitelj. (File2405594)*

*(The family is in big problems nowadays and we need to support it.)*

*Obitelj je prirodna i temeljna društvena jedinica, i ima pravo na zaštitu društva i države. (File2878846)*

*(Family is the natural and fundamental unit of the society and has the right to be protected by the society and the state.)*

These arguments are linked to religion and politics, where the latter has an ambivalent effect. On the one hand, politicians are claimed to misuse their power and endanger the family and, on the other, politicians are called to act so as to protect the family, as argued in the example above. The majority of the expressed opinions are generalised and attributed to the Croatian society as a whole.

The second part of this analysis of collocations of *obitelj* (family) in the national corpus reveals a dichotomy in the quality and value of a family. In the analysed examples, authors evaluate the quality through the number and, more often and overtly, sex of the parents. Stability, normality and excellent parenthood skills are perceived as given

in families with heterosexual parents. Same-sex couples are represented as deviant and perilous, in contrast with the 'real' family which is portrayed as safe haven:

*Obitelj je zadnje utočište svakom pojedincu, a to nam žele oduzeti da nas mogu totalno kontrolirati. (File2878940)*

*(Family is **the last sanctuary for every individual**, and they want to take it away so they can completely control us.)*

The phrase *hrvatska obitelj* (Croatian family) is used as a tool for policing the unmarried partnership in the presented data excerpt, and not only it promotes the idea of "the right image of the family", which inevitably implies that others are wrong, and links the family life with the national being. The emergence of the "right Croatian family" invokes patriotism, representing it as connected to the individuals' lifestyle choices.

*Također, ako živite zajedno, a niste u braku, isto je najbolje da prekinete jer šaljete krivu sliku hrvatske obitelji! (File2878807)*

*(Also, if you are living together and you aren't married, you better break up because **you're projecting a wrong image of the Croatian family**.)*

*Duhaček je oštro osudio taktiku gospođe Željke Markić koja je najprije htjela "zaštititi hrvatsku obitelj", a sada želi ukinuti sva prava LGBT osobama. (File2878967)*

*(Duhacek sharply criticised the tactics of Mrs Zeljka Markic who first wanted to '**protect the Croatian family**', and now wants to abolish all the LGBT rights.)*

The analysis shows traces of resisting discourse emerging as well in the Croatian media texts. These are occasionally laced with humour, but nonetheless strongly critical of the idea of one "right family". Warning about threatening and potentially dangerous circumstances is not reserved only for families with heterosexual partners. Namely, when speaking or writing about the families formed by same-sex couples, authors ask for protection too, noting that the exclusive policies and legislation influence marriage, as well as the rights and social position of the LGBT community in general.

Table 7.9: Collocation candidates list for “family” in the international corpus

family	Collocation candidate	Cooccurrence	MI score
1.	Name	122	8.38
2.	Be	136	3.21
3.	Value	15	6.85
4.	Law	20	4.84
5.	Collect	10	5.87
6.	Violence	10	5.71
7.	Child	11	5.20
8.	Gather	8	5.81
9.	Protect	8	5.64
10.	Marriage	18	2.96
11.	form	6	5.44
12.	Member	8	4.27
13.	Life	6	4.75
14.	Group	8	3.84
15.	Heterosexual	5	5.06
16.	Initiative	6	3.99
17.	Croatian	9	2.92
18.	Important	4	4.87
19.	Change	5	3.71
20.	More	6	3.19

The collocations of *family* ( $f=332$ ) in the international corpus are presented in Table 7.9. Analysis of the concordances show that *family* appears as a part of the name of the initiative and a common noun referring to a small, closely related social group. I have focused on the first meaning of the word *family*. Given the relatively frequent collocation with the verb *be*, it could be argued that to some extent the meaning and definition of the concept of family are open to negotiation in the media space. However, this is limited due to the fact that no other verbs like *define* or *redefine* do not appear, as was the case with marriage.

*This small Balkan country has registered a resounding NO to same-sex “marriage.” Its cry on behalf of **natural and traditional family** - father, mother and children – has echoed throughout the world. (File2755312)*

*Besides, the initiators of the referendum believe that if they win this will guarantee a legal **protection of children, marriage and the family**. (File2406190)*

*Gay rights marches are held regularly (under heavy security) and individuals are facing less and less fear about “**coming out**” to their **families and friends**. (File2406174)*

Another frequent collocation pattern that appears in the corpus is *Family law*, placing the *family* in the legal context and representing it as something that is formally

determined by different legal instruments, like laws, acts and the Constitution. Another way of writing about *family* is representing it as something abstract. In this sense, the family is a central social value, a foundation for building a prosperous society and country, and as such needs both citizens to protect it and to be protected by law.

*Accepting the new **Family Law**, the term **family violence** is mentioned for the first time in the legislation of the Republic of Croatia. (File2406083)*

*We cannot allow hate to become **a family value**. (File2755366)*

When referring to types of families, different ones are mentioned, and there is no strict polarisation or rigid confronting attitudes about either homosexual or heterosexual families.

#### 7.5.4. Parenthood and children

Children and parenthood are another noteworthy topic in the *Private life* semantic domain, but mostly in the national corpus. If considered within the broader context of the same-sex marriage debate, it can be argued that children are one of the important topics discussed by all the involved actors. The compiled list of collocation candidates for *djeca* (*children*,  $f=2,860$ ) in the national corpus is shown in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10: Collocation candidates list for “*djeca*” in the national corpus

<b>djeca</b>	<b>Collocation candidate</b>	<b>(Translation)</b>	<b>Cooccurrence</b>	<b>MI score</b>
1.	Posvajanje	Adoption	146	8.38
2.	Biti	Be	57	8.30
3.	Roditelj	Parent	72	5.78
4.	Obitelj	Family	90	3.96
5.	Pravo	Right	93	3.51
6.	Istospolni	Same-sex	43	5.74
7.	Zaštita	Protection	46	5.13
8.	Moći	Be able to	77	3.82
9.	Odgoj	Upbringing	28	6.09
10.	Dom	Home	26	6.18
11.	Brak	Marriage	67	2.98
12.	Mogućnost	Possibility	26	5.52
13.	Živjeti	Live (v)	29	4.86
14.	Par	Couple	21	6.09
15.	Zajednica	Union	50	3.19
16.	Žena	Woman	41	3.32
17.	Partner	Partner	22	4.86

18.	Interes	Interest	20	5.15
19.	Željati	Wish (v)	31	3.61
20.	gay	Gay	36	3.18

The analysis of collocations in which *dijete (child)/djeca(children)* takes part reveals several points. Firstly, *dijete/djeca* collocates with nouns and verbs denoting the process of *adoption*. After examining the relevant concordances, it can be seen that the adoption of children is discussed in two similar ways. The first one places emphasis on the agency in this process, posing or answering the question of *who* is adopting children. The other one evaluates the environment in which the adoption process places the child. The following concordance illustrates the point about the character of the adopters:

*Konačno, kod posvajanja djece ključno je tko je kakva osoba, što se utvrđuje stručnom evaluacijom prije samog posvajanja. (File2878623)*

*(Finally, with adoption, it is crucial to determine what kind of people the adopters are, which is done by expert evaluation before the adoption.)*

With both of these patterns, three main attitudes of the text authors can be observed. The first one positively regards adoptions of children by same-sex parents, arguing for the evaluation of their individual parenting qualities and prioritising the well-being of the children who are being adopted. The other viewpoint emerging in the corpus data, and shown in the example below, regards the adoption of children by same-sex married couples as negative and not favourable, or even detrimental, to children's development:

*Smatra da homoseksualni parovi ne bi trebali imati pravo na posvajanje djece jer to nije u interesu djece. (File2405629)*

*(She believes that the homosexual couples should not have the right to adopt since **this is not in the interest of the children.**)*

From this position, allowing same-sex marriage, or not prohibiting it, will result in same-sex couples being able to adopt children. Finally, there is a third point of view expressed in the analysed examples. Some of the authors regard the adoption of children by same-sex partners as positive (or at least neutral), but oppose its implementation in the current Croatian society, noting that it would not be beneficial for the adopted children.

*Ostavite posvajanje djece i istospolne brakove državama u kojima ljudi koji se u to uključe neće stradati. (File2878941)*

*(Leave the children adoption and same-sex marriages to the countries where people involved won't get hurt.)*

*Došao sam jer podržavam sva ljudska prava - pravo na brak, ali za posvajanje djece društvo još nije spremno. (File2878810)*

*(I came because I support all human rights – the right to marriage, but the society is not ready for the adoption of children.)*

The figure of parents appears in collocational patterns of *dijete/djeca*. Apart from distinguishing between same-sex and different-sex parents, the authors introduce other categories too, like biological parents or single parents, widening the understanding of the parental figure. This is closely related to the other collocation I have explored, the *upbringing of the children*. It is evident that this is a relevant concept for all of the actors involved in the debate. In the analysed examples, it is debated what *upbringing* is or what it should be like, and what makes a good, socially and morally valuable upbringing. This is evaluated through the presence and sex/gender of parental figures involved in the process. Some authors below see this as a determining indicator, while others argue there are more significant features of parenthood to be taken into consideration:

*Prema brojnim studijama upravo je brak najidealnije mjesto za dobivanje djece i njihovo odgajanje“, kaže Željka Markić iz inicijative “U ime obitelji”. (File2405540)*

*(“According to numerous studies, marriage is the ideal place to have and raise children”, says Zeljka Markic from the initiative “In the Name of the Family”).*

*Tu dolazi do sukoba s crkvenim i inim vjerničkim krugovima koji inzistiraju na neznanstvenoj ideji da su istospolni parovi nesposobni za odgajanje djece. (File2405666)*

*(There is a conflict between the Church and similar religious circles, which insist on the non-scientific idea that same-sex couples are incapable of raising children.)*

Lastly, an important collocation of *dijete/djeca* is with the noun *right*, bridging the semantic domains of *Private* and *Public life* in the national corpus. Two main perspectives appear in the texts. On the one hand, there is a debate on the right of same-sex partners to have children. While some authors consider this to be a basic human right and, therefore, support the adoption of children and same-sex couples' access to medically supported reproduction, the others reject this as a human right, finding evidence in the relevant international legislation.



*Je li imati djecu osnovno ljudsko pravo zajamčeno svim ljudima kroz međunarodne konvencije? Mislim da nije. (File2405691)*

*(Is the right to have children a basic human right guaranteed to all people in the international conventions? I don't think so.)*

*Detaljno se razrađuju pravni odnosi vezani uz djecu, budući da životni partner, iz prijašnjeg braka ili na koji drugi način, može imati dijete. (File2879079)*

*(The legal relations regarding children are being examined in detail, given that the life partner can have a child from a previous marriage or a relationship.)*

On the other hand, a frequent topic is that of children's rights and how these are or would be affected by changes in marriage and adoption legislation. Even though there is no agreement on what threatens and what improves the status of children's rights, it is unanimously accepted that children's rights and wellbeing should be protected and improved.

#### 7.5.5. Main points from the analysis of *Private life* semantic domain

In the *Private life* semantic domain, I explored topics revolving around the ideas of marriage and relationships, family, parenthood and children. There are considerable similarities between findings from the national and international corpora. The negotiation of the concept of marriage takes place in both corpora. There is a strong polarisation between a definition of marriage that includes both different and same-sex partners, and a definition that distinguishes heterosexual marriage from all other relationships. The attitudes towards same-sex marriage range from accepting to being appalled, especially in the Croatian language corpus. Similar points can be made about the idea of family; it is either seen as including strictly married heterosexual parents and their children or as more inclusive, allowing the term to refer to single-parent families and same-sex partners, without children. In the international corpus, however, its use is dominantly in the name of the initiative, titles of different laws or the political context. There is no elaborate discussion and attempts to define the true nature and structure of the family, as in the *Private life* domain in the national corpus.

Children and rights revolving around their adoption, wellbeing and upbringing are particularly important in Croatian texts, to the extent that these rights are what the marriage referendum debate seems to be ultimately reduced to.

## 7.6. Discussion and concluding remarks

This chapter set out to explore what the main topics in the marriage referendum debate in national and international corpora are and how are these topics represented. Applying quantitative methods was helpful in processing the raw data and down-sampling it in a way that provides guidelines for a more detailed qualitative approach. The two wordlists yielded from these specialised corpora revealed comparable semantic domains, including topics related to individuals' private life and other oriented towards matters in the public sphere.

While these domains share general topics, there are differences in how these are presented in different corpora and elaborated into sub-topics. In both corpora, the topics from the semantic domain related to *Public life* are more dominant and in the centre of attention for different social actors and groups and text writers alike. Considering the main findings from all four domains, it is possible to note a difference in the way the debate was constructed in Croatian and international media reports.

In the reports from the national corpus, a lot of attention is given to the legal framework and meta-legislation. It is precisely the process of negotiating the laws, their scope, and the effect on individuals and the society, in general, that is addressed the most. It could be observed that while the referendum and its preparation in national reports is both a process and a goal the organisers are trying to achieve, in the international corpus voting in the referendum is generally reported as a response to the initiative and a form of citizen engagement. LGBT rights and human rights are more represented in the international forum.

The negotiation of marriage, which was, at least at the beginning and nominally, at the bottom of the debate is more elaborated in the national corpus, but no single pattern dominates. Social actors use and construct the meaning of marriage differently in relation to other semantically close terms. This is done either to distinguish different-sex marriage from these and establish it as superior, or to diversify the understanding of romantic relationships, but also their legal and social significance. The family is an essential concept in the national corpus, where there are tendencies to construct it as a

normative and as a universal category, but does not seem to play a significant role in the international corpus.

Considering my research question, there are two comparable semantic domains in the national and international corpora, and the one encompassing topics from public life is more dominant in both corpora. However, the focus in the national corpus is on the negotiation of the legislation and citizens engaging with the legal procedure before the referendum, while in the international one the emphasis is placed on human rights and how the referendum affects them.

## 8. Discursive legitimization in the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus

### 8.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 addressed the contents of the marriage referendum debate, investigating what the social actors were reported to be debating about. Through quantitative and qualitative analyses, I determined that the contents were divided between the *Public life* and *Private life* semantic domain, in both national and international corpus.

In this chapter, I continue exploring the corpora, this time focusing on the discursive legitimization strategies used in the marriage referendum debate. This is an important aspect of the analysis, as it offers a valuable insight into the reports of the debate and, in addition to the findings from the previous two chapters, helps to reach a comprehensive understanding of the positions of social actors in relation to most relevant themes that emerged in the debate.

The majority of research into discursive legitimization relies predominately on qualitative analysis (Brenton 1993, Martin Rojo and van Dijk 1997), Vaara et al. 2007, van Leeuwen 2008, Vaara 2010, Betham 2013, KhosraviNik 2015). Considering the course of my analysis and findings in previous chapters, my approach to discursive legitimization is primarily qualitative and includes descriptive quantitative procedures where appropriate.

The main objective of this chapter is to answer the following research questions:

- How is supporting and opposing the marriage referendum initiative in Croatia discursively legitimised by social actors in the media debate?

and, in particular:

- Which types of discursive legitimization strategies have been used in the national and international corpus?
- Which social actors employ discursive legitimization strategies?
- Which semantic domains appear in discursive legitimization strategies?

Following the iterative approach to analysis, I have adapted the model of discursive legitimization suitable for exploring legitimization in comparable socio-political contexts.

Since I have defined and identified the social actors in the debate as sayers in the reports, my analysis addresses their direct speech and statements, as reported in the media texts. Although investigating other instances of legitimization, for example, cases in which the legitimization has been interpreted or used independently by the reports' authors, might offer an interesting insight into some aspect of the debate, this aspect was beyond the scope of the analysis in the current project.

The chapter starts with the description of the analysis design, detailing the process of downsampling the corpora and selecting the reports for detailed analysis. I introduce the software used for the analysis and the annotation scheme applied in the process. Applying a deductive approach allowed me to use the insights from the previous two chapters to inform the investigation of legitimization strategies. The second part of the chapter includes a quantitative overview and in-depth qualitative analysis of legitimization by morality, rationalisation, authority and mythopoesis.

## 8.2. Approaching discursive legitimization

### 8.2.1. Preparing and downsampling the corpora

The first part of the analysis was done on a sample of both corpora, and it explored how the annotation scheme can be applied to the specialised corpora compiled for the current project. At this stage, I was also interested in learning if the complexity of legitimization strategies emerging is adequately reflected in the annotation scheme.

There are two main ways to downsample a large collection of data; sections for analysis can be chosen either randomly or following a particular set of criteria. While the random selection of data sample might prevent cherry-picking, "such a selection procedure may not reveal infrequent but nevertheless important features identified at the top-down level" (Anthony and Baker 2015: 274). With selective downsampling, researchers might divide the data into categories and select the sample so that all categories are represented (see KhosraviNik 2010 and Demmen et al. 2015), or focus on coreness of the sample (MacDonald and Hunter 2011, 2013 and MacDonald et al. 2013). However, some studies offer no details on how the section for analysis were selected (e.g. Ehrlich and Blum-Kulka 2010, Gavriely-Nuri 2010).

I used the *ProtAnt* software (Anthony and Baker 2016) to select the most lexically typical texts in the corpus. This approach relies on calculating key words, words which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text” (Scott 1997: 236). The files in the corpus are ranked by the number of keywords they contain, based on keywords’ statistical significance and effect size (Anthony and Baker 2015: 273). For the purpose of this analysis, I used the whole corpus as a reference corpus to be compared against individual files containing media reports.

	File	KeyTypes	KeyTokens	NormKeyTypes	NormKeyTokens	AllTypes	AllTokens
1	ENG25.txt	29	88	241.667	385.965	120	228
2	ENG21.txt	28	87	224	388.393	125	224
3	ENG85.txt	26	84	208	360.515	125	233
4	ENG115.txt	24	70	205.128	334.928	117	209

	File	Key 1	Key 2	Key 3	Key 4	Key 5	Key 6	Key 7	Key 8	Key 9	Key 10
1	ENG25.txt	decide	sunday	hold	define	marriages	zagreb	voters	ban	yes	vote
2	ENG21.txt	holds	hundreds	urged	sunday	define	marriages	zagreb	voters	yes	vote
3	ENG85.txt	hold	define	marriages	html	ban	yes	vote	equality	http	file
4	ENG115.txt	define	marriages	voters	ban	amendment	yes	vote	http	file	filename
5	ENG10.txt	imminent	hundreds	decide	sunday	activists	define	marriages	zagreb	voters	amendme.
6	ENG51.txt	hold	activists	define	marriages	voters	yes	vote	http	file	filename
7	ENG126.txt	hold	define	marriages	zagreb	voters	ban	yes	vote	http	file
8	ENG2.txt	outlaws	decide	sunday	define	marriages	voters	amendm...	vote	http	file
9	ENG73.txt	html	voters	ban	yes	equality	http	file	filename	folder	url
10	ENG7.txt	holds	hundreds	urged	sunday	hold	activists	zagreb	voters	ban	amendme.
11	ENG70.txt	hold	define	marriages	html	voters	ban	yes	vote	http	file
12	ENG127.txt	activists	zagreb	html	voters	ban	amendm...	yes	vote	croatians	http
13	ENG43.txt	en	hold	marriages	amendm...	vote	croatians	http	file	filename	folder

*Figure 8.1: Identifying prototypical national media reports with ProtAnt 1.2.0.*

Since there were no major gaps in this ranking which might have indicated where a sensible cut-off point would be, I have analysed the corpora texts in batches of 20, adding more files until I was no longer getting more insights about the legitimization strategies used. Eventually, I have analysed 60 reports from the international corpus and 100 from the national corpus.

### 8.2.2. Annotation tool

For this part of the corpora analysis, I initially chose to use the *UAM Corpus Tool 3.1.4* (O'Donnell 2008). This software is an open source tool for adding tags to a selected segment of text and offers insight into statistical data following the annotation. However, after I have made the decision to annotate the legitimization strategies for the social actors who had used them, as well as for the semantic domains of their content, it became challenging to track all the annotations and clear overview of the files. Therefore, I have transferred my data into *NVivo 10* (QSR International 2012) software for qualitative research analysis. *NVivo 10* had all the features of the *UAM Corpus Tool*, and I have found the visual interface easier to use. *NVivo 10* also allows the researchers to work with a wide range of source types and run more complex matrix queries (Hoover and Koerber 2011).

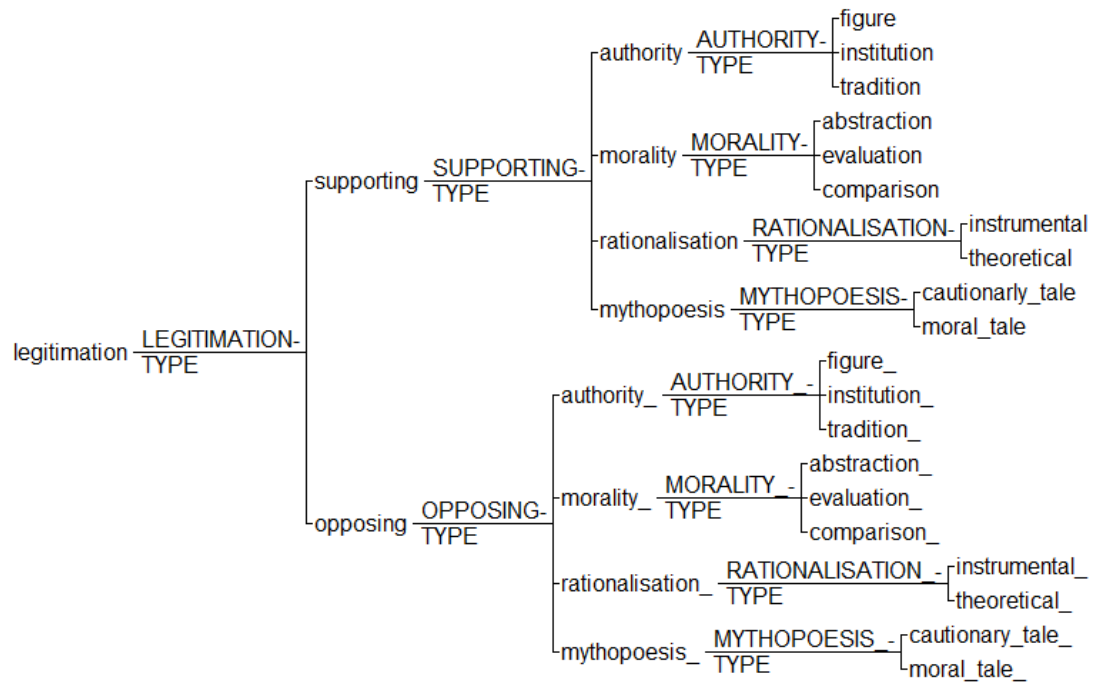
With both tools, users can create and modify their own annotation schemes, as well as upload and use pre-made ones. Considering the iterative nature of this kind of analysis, it was particularly helpful to use the software to quickly retrieve previously added tags and allow for scheme modifications throughout the process. This meant I was able to compare different segments of texts and use previous annotation decisions to aid the cases where annotation was not straightforward. Even though my analysis was not inductive, and I started with a scheme rather than building one along the way, it was helpful to be able to alter the scheme throughout the process, without losing any of the previously added tags.

Since different categories of discursive legitimization strategies do not always appear in a pure form, separate from each other, it was suitable to use a tool which would allow adding multiple tags from the scheme to same or overlapping segments of texts.

### 8.2.3. The annotation scheme for legitimization strategies

To pursue the research questions outlined at the beginning of the chapter, I chose to do a qualitative analysis of my corpus data. The starting point of my analysis was van Leeuwen's (2008) model of representation of legitimization strategies (*Figure 8.2*), described in detail in Chapter 4 (4.3.2. *Legitimation of social action*). When

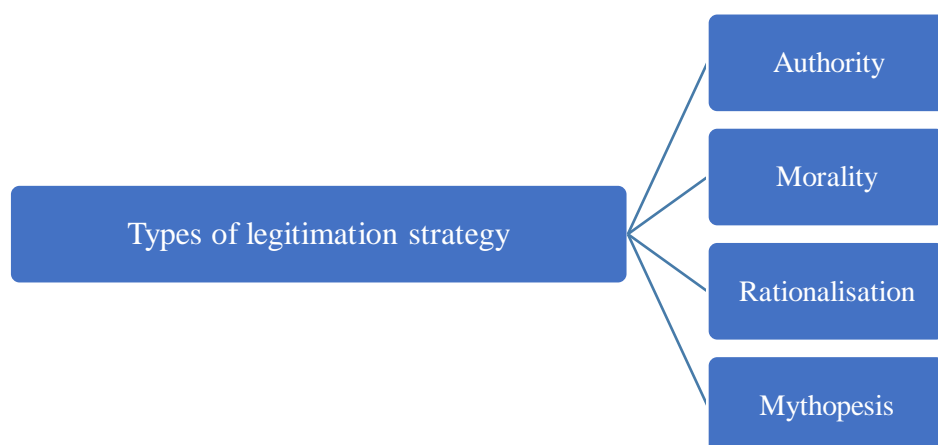
illustrating this model, van Leeuwen, as well as researchers who further adapted and applied it (Vaara et al., Erkama and Vaara), identified parts of text performing a legitimating function, and then went on to further categorise these items, depending on the nature and source of legitimation.



*Figure 8.2: Annotation scheme initially used with UAM tool, based on van Leeuwen's (2008) model of discursive legitimation*

Based on the insight into media reports I gained analysing the corpora in the previous two chapters and informed by other legitimation studies drawing on this model, described in 4.3.1 and 4.3.2., I decided to start the analysis by annotating the reports based on van Leeuwen's (2008) model, rather than completely inductively. The annotation scheme I used at the start of the analysis was a simplified version of van Leeuwen's model (*Figure 8.3*), from which I excluded some of the sub-branches of legitimation strategies. I have made this decision having read the corpora texts for analysis in previous chapters, which showed that some of the branches would not be relevant. This annotation scheme also included the information on whether the social actor using it supports or opposes the referendum initiative.



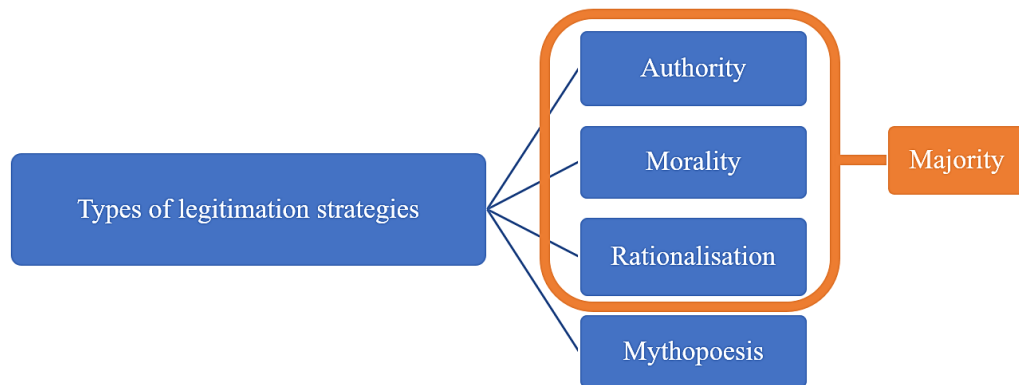


*Figure 8.3: Annotation scheme for different types of legitimization strategies used in the international and national corpus*

Applying this annotation scheme to first twenty media reports in the national and international corpus showed that, while it was mostly possible to distinguish between the four types of discursive legitimization strategies. The level of differentiation between the subbranches was not as prominent so I directed the analysis towards the four main branches of legitimization.

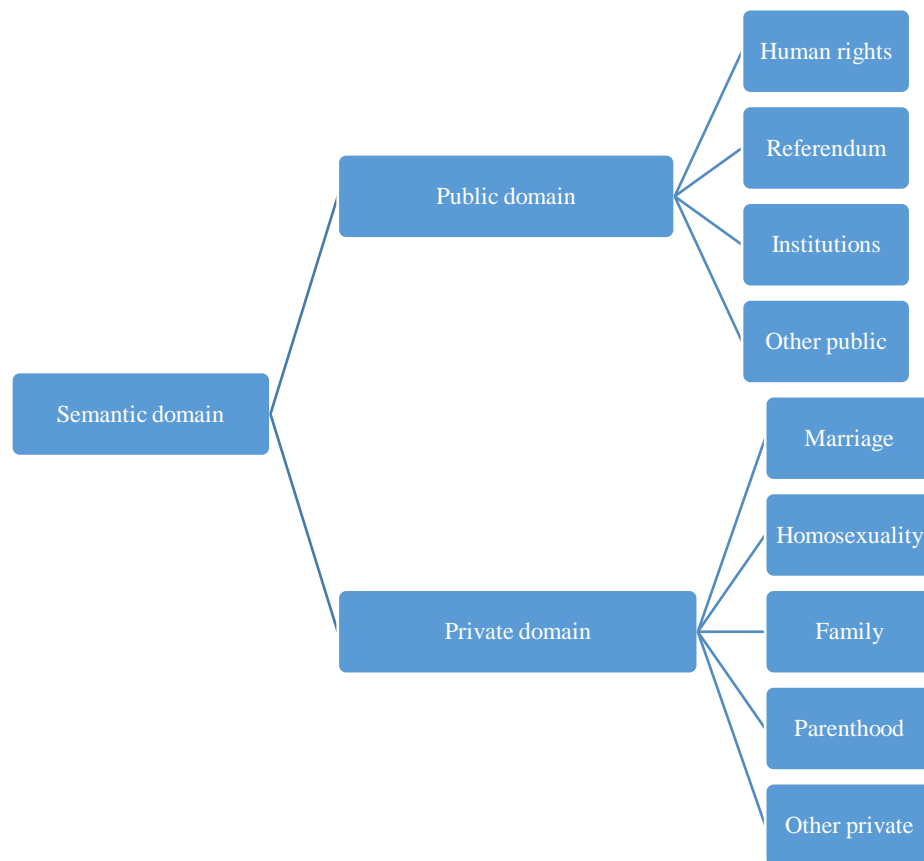
However, inductively, the further qualitative analysis of the findings for the different types of legitimization strategies led me to propose another group of discursive strategies emerging in the corpora. These strategies, even though overlapping in some aspects, were distinct from the initial four types of legitimization when considered as a group. Section 8.4.5. explains conceptually the legitimization by majority, specific to the context of the Croatian marriage referendum debate.

The approval of the referendum initiative by the majority of citizens, and later voters, is the legitimization strategy employed by the referendum supporters. This discursive strategy relies on the premise that having the support of the majority legitimises a cause and actions serving it. In practice, the amorphous majority becomes a source of legitimization. Whatever the majority chooses to support is by default perceived as morally desirable and more favourable in comparison to other causes. The agenda of the majority is framed as reasonable, purposeful and natural. Therefore, conceptually, this discursive strategy amalgamates the legitimization by authority, morality and rationalisation.



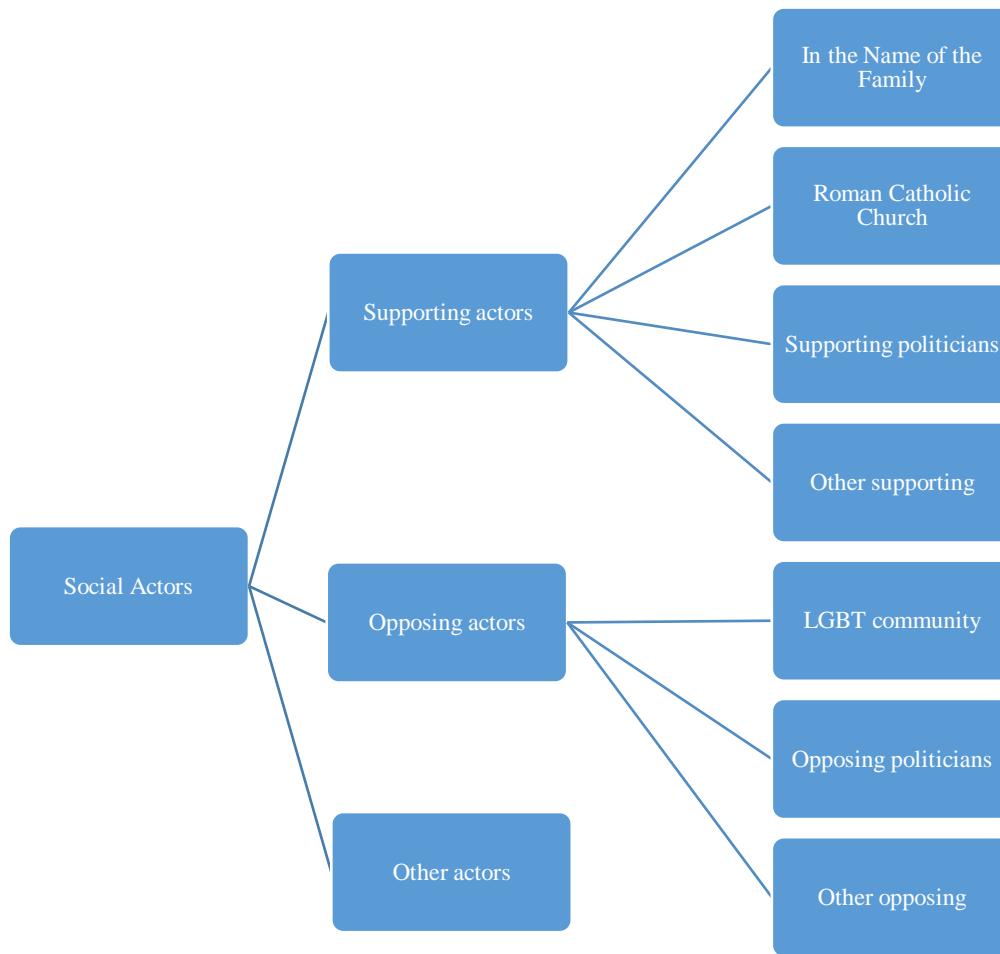
*Figure 8.4: Revised annotation scheme for social actors using legitimization strategies in international and national corpus*

The initial stage of annotation also highlighted other potentially relevant aspects of the discursive construction of legitimization, like the social actor or group of actors using it and the semantic domain of the strategy contents. Given that this is something I have already analysed in Chapters 6 and 7, rather than approaching these aspects of legitimization inductively, I was able to adopt a deductive approach and draw on my earlier findings. Therefore, as my analysis had shown that the most prominent contents of the debate fall in public and private semantic domain, I applied this dichotomy to the content of legitimization strategies, adding one further level of differentiation.



*Figure 8.5: Annotation scheme for semantic domains in legitimization strategies used in the international and national corpus*

Similarly, drawing on the findings from Chapter 7, I have developed an annotation scheme differentiating between several groups of social actors supporting and opposing the referendum initiative.



*Figure 8.6: Annotation scheme for social actors using legitimization strategies in international and national corpus*

It is important to note that, even though the scope of my analysis has expanded, the focus of this chapter remains on legitimization strategies, and all the other aspects of analysis will be considered in relation to the discursive construction of legitimization.

#### 8.2.4. Annotation process and decisions

The annotation process involved several steps, particularly linked to different aspects of analysis.

In the first step, I have identified instances of legitimization strategies and annotated them as legitimization by Authority, Morality, Rationalisation or Mythopoesis, based on the definitions introduced in section 4.3.2.1. *Van Leeuwen's model of discursive*

*legitimation*. In the next steps, I have examined these instances in terms of social actors who have used them and the semantic domain their content belonged to.

These steps involved making decisions on what would classify as an instance of legitimation strategy. In this analysis, I decided to focus on direct or explicitly reported speech by social actors and annotate it for legitimation strategies. It could be argued that there are further layers of legitimation in media reports, e.g. author choosing to quote a prominent judge or politician could be seen as using *Authority* to legitimate a certain viewpoint presented in the report. However, due to the limited scope of the project, the focus here will be on the social actors who were directly involved in the public debate about the referendum initiative and question, and who have been cited in media reports.

During the analysis, I also needed to make decisions on the length of the annotation, e.g. would it entail a relevant noun phrase, a sentence or a whole paragraph. This was done on a case by case basis, as the form of legitimation strategies varied, sometimes they were found within a clause of a complex sentence, as shown in the example below; in other cases, they spread across multiple sentences.

*Ističe da su dobili potporu svih većih vjerskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj, sindikata i braniteljskih udruga, kao i niz ponuda volontera/ki. (File 2878656)*

*(She pointed out they received the support of all major religious communities in Croatia, unions and veteran associations, as well as a many offers of volunteering.)*

Another issue that emerged was that with some instances of legitimation strategies it was not possible to distinguish between two types of legitimation strategies or two categories in semantic domains. In such cases, the instance As it was noted in the analysis in the previous chapters, due to the nature of corpus data, e.g. texts reporting on the news about the referendum developments, there were instances of repetition, particularly in cases of statements made by social actors. Since the WebBootCaT process removed the files that were completely identical, the files where sentences or paragraphs repeated were still included in the corpus. I have made the decision to annotate the repeating legitimation strategies too, as the fact that they were included in multiple reports meant that they aimed different audience and had a wider reach.

Finally, when introducing and explaining the discursive legitimization model, van Leeuwen (2008) offered examples to illustrate possible linguistic realisations of different legitimization strategies, and so did the other scholars applying and adapting the model (Vaara et al. 2006, Erkama and Vaara 2010). While the examples from their work helped develop my understanding of the concept and differences between various legitimization strategy types, my analysis also relied on my personal understanding of the co-text and context of the data I worked with.

After setting the general principles of the annotation process, I have decided on the way to deal with ambiguous instances, so as to ensure consistency across both corpora samples. I have made a note of the instances where it was challenging to annotate or identify the legitimization strategy and have revisited these at the end of the process.

The second round of analysis helped me standardise the annotations and make decisions regarding more complex instances of legitimization. A second annotator was not used as it was not feasible to find an individual fluent in both Croatian and English and familiar with van Leeuwen's model of discursive legitimization. As described above, I have undertaken different steps to achieve consistency and standardise the annotations across both samples.

### 8.3. Overview of the quantitative analysis of legitimization strategies

This section offers a statistical overview of the analysis results. It is important to note that the focus is on descriptive statistics, as this was suitable to address the research questions in this chapter. The following overview gives a descriptive insight into the types, contents and social actors using legitimization strategies, and these are then discussed in more detail in section 8.4.

The sample from the international corpus included 60 texts and 51 texts contained one or more legitimization strategies. The analysis yielded 333 instances of legitimization strategies. *Table 8.1* shows the distribution of strategies across the four types. As explained in 8.2.4., there were cases where it was not possible to distinguish between the two types, so the strategy was annotated twice, making the total of annotations  $n=345$ .

*Table 8.1: Distribution of legitimization strategy types in the international corpus*

Legitimation type	Number of annotated strategies	Percentage of the overall strategies
Authority	34	9.09
Morality	120	32.09
Rationalisation	148	39.57
Mythopoesis	43	11.50
Majority	29	7.75

*Rationalisation* (n=148) was found to be the most frequent type of legitimization strategy, followed by *Morality* (n=120). *Mythopoesis* (n=43), *Authority* (n=34) and *Majority* (n=29) appeared less often.

*Table 8.2: Distribution of semantic domains in legitimization strategies in the international corpus*

Semantic domain	Number of annotated strategies	Percentage of the overall strategies
Private: Marriage	85	24.78
Private: Family	10	2.92
Private: Parenthood	40	11.66
Private: Homosexuality	7	2.04
Private: Other	6	1.75
Public: Human rights	39	11.37
Public: Institution	14	4.08
Public: Referendum	63	18.37
Public: Other	79	23.03

When it comes to the contents of the legitimization strategies, 343 annotations have been made, again, due to some strategies being annotated twice. Majority of legitimization strategies in the international corpus were in the *Public semantic domain* (n=185), related to categories *Other* (n=79) and *Referendum* (n=63). There were 148 legitimization strategies in the *Private semantic domain*, most of them referring to the category *Marriage* (n=85).

*Table 8.3: Distribution of social actors using legitimization strategies in the international corpus*

Social actor(s)	Number of annotated strategies	Percentage of the overall strategies
Supporting: INF	49	14.29
Supporting: Roman Catholic Church	57	16.62
Supporting: Politicians	9	2.62
Supporting: Other	30	8.75
Opposing: LGBT Community	36	10.50
Opposing: Politicians	78	22.74
Opposing: Other	45	13.12
Other	29	8.45

*Table 8.3* shows the distribution of legitimization strategies by the social actors who used them in the sample from the international corpus. Social actors opposing the referendum initiative are presented in the reports as using legitimization strategies more often (n=159), particularly the Politicians opposing the initiative (n=78).

There were 148 legitimization strategies annotated as used by social actors supporting the referendum. The majority of the legitimization strategies were used by the actors belonging to the Roman Catholic Church (n=57) and the initiative In the Name of the Family (n=49). The sample from the international corpus also contained legitimization strategies used by actors who were not explicitly supporting or opposing the referendum initiative (n=29).



The analysis was conducted on 100 media reports from the national corpus. A total of 352 legitimisation strategies appeared across 68 reports.

As shown in *Table 8.4*, there were 370 annotations for types of legitimisation strategies, most frequent categories being *Morality* (n=167) and *Rationalisation* (n=120).

*Table 8.4: Distribution of legitimisation strategy types in the national corpus*

Legitimation type	Number of annotated strategies	Percentage of the overall strategies
Authority	52	12.71
Morality	167	40.83
Rationalisation	120	29.34
Mythopoesis	31	7.58
Majority	39	9.54

When it comes to the distribution of legitimisation strategies based on the contents, the focus is on the *Public semantic domain*, with categories like *Other* (n=100), *Referendum* (n=84) and *Human rights* (n=56). *Marriage* (n=41) is the most frequent category in the *Private semantic domain*.

*Table 8.5: Distribution of semantic domains in legitimisation strategies in the national corpus*

Semantic domain	Number of annotated strategies	Percentage of the overall strategies
Private: Marriage	41	11.95
Private: Family	21	6.12
Private: Parenthood	24	7.00
Private: Homosexuality	17	4.96

<b>Private: Other</b>	6	1.75
<b>Public: Human rights</b>	56	16.33
<b>Public: Institution</b>	23	6.71
<b>Public: Referendum</b>	84	24.49
<b>Public: Other</b>	100	29.15

*Table 8.6* shows the annotation findings for the social actors who used the legitimization strategies in the media reports. In the national corpus reports, social actors opposing the referendum initiative have used 226 legitimization strategies, and 106 pertain to the actors supporting the referendum. On the whole, legitimization strategies were most frequently used by members of the LGBT community (n=92), other opposing actors (n=72) and members of the In the Name of the Family (n=70). There were 20 instances where legitimization strategies have been used by Other social actors, who have not expressed support or opposition to the referendum initiative.

*Table 8.6: Distribution of social actors using legitimization strategies in the national corpus*

<b>Social actor(s)</b>	<b>Number of annotated strategies</b>	<b>Percentage of the overall strategies</b>
<b>Supporting: INF</b>	70	20.41
<b>Supporting: Roman Catholic Church</b>	24	7.00
<b>Supporting: Politicians</b>	11	3.21
<b>Supporting: Other</b>	1	0.29
<b>Opposing: LGBT Community</b>	92	26.82
<b>Opposing: Politicians</b>	62	18.08
<b>Opposing: Other</b>	72	20.99
<b>Other</b>	20	5.83

Several points emerge comparing the quantitative finding from the two samples. Firstly, there were on average 5.55 legitimisation strategies per report in the international corpus and 3.52 per report in the national corpus. In the international corpus, 15% of the reports analysed contained no legitimisation strategies, compared to 32% in the national corpus.

A potential explanation could be that reports in the international corpus were addressing an audience with little or no contextual knowledge of the referendum circumstances and the socio-political situation in Croatia, and therefore, the authors of the reports included a higher number of statements from different social actors. On the other hand, reports aimed at a national audience could have included more focused commentaries and fewer instances of direct speech by social actors.

#### 8.4. Qualitative analysis of legitimisation strategies and discussion

In this section, I explore in more detail the main types of legitimisation strategies and how these have been used in the analysed sample from the national and international corpus. This section also includes examples of legitimisation strategies annotated in different categories.

##### 8.4.1. Morality: A “sad and senseless” referendum

As evident from *Table 9.1* and *Table 9.4*, Morality based legitimisation strategies are the most frequent in the sample from the international corpus and second most frequent in the national corpus sample. This type of legitimisation is founded on the values held by actors using it, and it is often combined with rationalisation and authority.

A common form of legitimisation by morality is realised through evaluation, i.e. adding attributive elements to indicate how an action or a goal is aligned with one's values. Supporters of the referendum initiative often highlight the importance of the family and marital topics as one of the reasons for addressing them through the referendum procedure. In the strategies the referendum supporters have used, heterosexual couples are presented as the best type of family. This is primarily due to their perception as an optimal environment for child-upbringing:

*Brak kao zajednica žene i muškarca **najbolje je mjesto za primanje i podizanje djece, osnova obitelji koja je temeljna jedinica svakog društva.** (File 2878975)*

*(Marriage, as a union of a woman and a man is **the best place to have and raise children, and it is the basis of a family which is the foundational unit of every society.**)*

Social actors opposing the referendum adopt these strategies as well, primarily to express the evaluation of the referendum itself. The Croatian President overtly expressed he was disappointed, although not surprised, with the referendum outcome, and the Prime Minister used strategies focused on the initiators of the referendum and their intentions. His evaluation of the referendum as ‘sad and senseless’ was reported widely:

*He added that “this is **a sad and senseless referendum** and I hope this is the last time that we have a referendum on a question like this”. (File 2754540)*

Other referendum opponents classified referendum as a form of oppression against minorities in Croatian society.

Another form of legitimization through morality is by comparison. With such strategies, the contents of action are compared either positively or negatively to legitimise or delegitimise them. For example, social actors from the LGBT community highlight how “In the Name of the Family” compare the different types of families:

*To je za Inicijativu, dodala je Benčić, “**isključivo ona obitelj koja se sastoji od muža, žene i djece, a sve druge su manje vrijedne, pa čak i jednoroditeljske gdje se smatra da ne mogu djeci pružiti prirodno okruženje za razvoj**”. (File 2878722)*

*(For the Initiative, added Bencic, “**it is exclusively the family consisting of a husband, a wife and children, and all the other families are less valuable, even the single-parent ones, as it is believed the cannot offer a natural environment for children’s development**”.)*

A member of the referendum initiative, Lino Zonjić, explained that he personally equally values homosexual and heterosexual persons, in order to assert that he would not undertake any actions which were discriminatory towards anyone.

Lastly, legitimization by morality can be realised through abstraction. This approach entails equating a single, concrete action or event to a wider, more abstract ones, exaggerating the positive or negative effect. Examples can be found in the strategy used by the Prime Minister, where he claimed that the change in the definition of marriage and the fact that a referendum about it is taking place is a threat to people

happiness and freedom overall. A more extreme example comes from a citizen who voted against the referendum question, and suggested it was a start of fascism:

*"This is the **entry of fascism** through the back door." (File 2406072)*

#### 8.4.2. Rationalisation: "They perform worse in school"

Legitimation by rationalisation is founded either on the body of knowledge, theoretical and empirical, about the subject or action or on its aim, use and the predicted effect.

The strategies from the first group tend to refer to the natural order of things, systematic theoretical knowledge and science-based evidence. The supporters of the referendum initiative referred to the natural order of things to legitimise the proposed changes in the Constitution. "In the Name of the Family" suggests that having to heterosexual parents is the only natural environment for raising children:

*Prepoznati prirodnu činjenicu da svaki čovjek ima majku i oca i da je to okruženje za koje je dijete biološki prilagođeno i predodređeno te da stoga svako dijete ima pravo na majku i oca ne može značiti diskriminaciju. To nije nešto što je čovjek izmislio, to je jednostavno tako. (File 2878703)*

*(It cannot mean discrimination to recognise **the natural fact that every man has a mother and a father and that this is the environment for which a child is biologically adapted and predestined**, and that every child has a right to a mother and a father. This is not something man has made up, it is just the way it is.)*

These strategies were also used by right-wing politicians to reiterate the naturalness of the heteronormative definition of marriage.

Other types of theoretical legitimation draw on the results of empirical studies. Željka Markić, the leader of "In the Name of the Family" initiative argued that gay parents should not raise children by stating the research findings indicating children from these families perform worse academically than children raised by heterosexual couples:

*Novo istraživanje provedeno u Kanadi pokazuje da su djeca iz takvih zajednica lošija u školi. (File 2405789)*

*(New study conducted in Canada indicated that children from such unions [same-sex] perform worse in school.)*

The referendum opponents had referred to empirical evidence to legitimate retaining the status quo regarding the constitutional definition of marriage, explaining that no studies have shown any negative repercussions following the introduction of same-

sex marriages. They note that the countries which criminalise homosexuality, like Russia are in a far worse state. Also, LGBT activities have tried to delegitimise the arguments made by Željka Markić by questioning the validity of the studies she was using in her campaign.

However, the majority of legitimisation strategies built on rationality were focused on the aim and effects of the referendum initiative. There were several approaches to legitimising the referendum initiative and the proposed changes to the Constitution. Such discursive strategies were mainly used by members of “In the Name of the Family” and supporters of the referendum. Generally, “In the Name of the Family” announced that the purpose of the referendum and introducing a heteronormative definition of marriage is to protect children and families. Throughout the campaign, this aim is then split into two main strands. Željka Markić highlights the referendum initiative is about preventing the legal possibility of gay couples entering marriage and this view is shared by the opponents of the referendum.

Another distinct aim of the referendum is to create legislation framework which would prevent the same-sex couples from adopting children. This particular strategy is intertwined with legitimisation by morality, where “a Croatia in which same-sex couples cannot adopt children” is presented as a favourable identity for the whole society:

*The conservative bloc said it's a matter of having "a Croatia in which same-sex couples cannot adopt children," Markić said in an interview with the Catholic paper "Glas Koncila." (File 2755419)*

"In the Name of the Family" have noted on several occasions that organising a referendum is in itself positive, as is it an opportunity to exercise democratic practice and allow the citizens to speak their mind. Another perspective on the democratic value of referendum procedure is offered by political analyst Žarko Puhovski, who warns about the lack of representation, explaining that, in theory, even a turnout of only one citizen would be valid.

Social actors who were not directly involved in the debate noted that the motivation behind it actually a protest against the current politics and an indirect way of challenging the left-wing government:

*"This vote is not about marriage or the definition of marriage, **this is a referendum against the current government** ," Davor Butkovic, an influential columnist, wrote in the pro-government Jutarnji List daily before the referendum. (File 2406201)*

Also, the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia has been linked to the uptake of the referendum initiative, and the support the referendum has received. From this viewpoint, the success of the referendum is a testimony to the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia.

Legitimation through rationalisation is concerned with the consequences of the action or aim. Social actors and groups opposing the referendum have legitimised their position by the need to protect the human rights of minorities from the potential outcomes. The referendum is seen as discriminatory and against the democratic social values. A positive outcome of the referendum question would affect many individuals in Croatia. Members of the LGBT community explained the practical implications of changed legislation on their daily lives:

*One woman who came to vote with her girlfriend told Reuters, "**I have no right to inherit my girlfriend's property, we cannot adopt children or get married, I could not visit her if she ended up in an old people's home.**" (File 2406064)*

However, there would also be consequences in case the gathered signatures were ignored and the idea of holding a referendum rejected. Dragan Zelic from the citizen organisation GONG who monitor all the elections in Croatia suggests that in those circumstances the whole country might be caught up in a deep crisis:

*Ovim se otvaraju vrata debeloj ustavnoj krizi. (File 2878908)*  
*(This opens way to a **deep constitutional crisis.**)*

The economic situation in the country has also been a source of legitimation for the social actors involved in the debate. Firstly, the flagging economy is reported as an underlying cause of the popularity of the referendum initiative. LGBT activist Sandi Blagonić also considers the financial repercussions of organising a referendum and amending the Constitution only to follow it by further legislation regulating other forms of a union:

*'Dogodit će se to da gospođa Markić nije napravila ništa ako se izjednače prava istospolne zajednice s brakom. Rezultat svega je da se baci 49 milijuna kuna u vjetar', smatra Blagonić. (File 2405825)*

*("What will happen is that Mrs Markic will have done nothing if the rights of a same-sex union are equalled to those of a marriage. The result will be that they will throw away 49 million kunas", argues Blagonic.)*

The politicians opposing the referendum expand on these strategies by comparing the amount of money spent on the referendum to the amount spent on social welfare. Activists from the global LGBT community have also warned about the potential financial implications of the referendum for Croatia in the international context:

*Ako referendum prođe, svi mediji koji podržavaju gay zajednicu pisat će o tome i to bi moglo dovesti do poziva na bojkot Hrvatske, ne samo što se tiče homoseksualaca nego i njihovih obitelji i prijatelja – kazao je Paul Barnes iz organizacije Gay European Travel Association (GETA). (File 2879068)*

*(If this referendum passes, all the media supporting the gay community will report about it and this could lead to calls to boycott Croatia, not just by homosexuals but also their families and friends – said Paul Barnes from GETA (Gay European Travel Association))*

Furthermore, Croatian politicians opposing the referendum have also argued that Croatia will not make economic progress and questioned the impression made on the EU by pursuing the referendum.

#### 8.4.3. Authority: "It's against what Jesus preached!"

Analysis of the samples from both corpora discovered different types of legitimation by authority. With such strategies, the value of a certain action or aim is demonstrated by a source of authority supporting or rejecting it. The authority in question might be personal or impersonal.

The latter was often the basis for legitimation strategies of authority in both corpora. The authority of tradition is particularly prominent, where it is argued that things have been done in a certain way for a very long time and, therefore, everything should be continued like that.

The Croatian Bishops' Chamber invited the citizens to vote 'for', suggesting that such vote is aligned with traditional values and the culture of Croatian people:



*To je u skladu s općeljudskim i evanđeoskim vrijednostima te s tisućljetnom tradicijom i kulturom hrvatskoga naroda i većine drugih hrvatskih građana. (File 2878708)*

*(This is in accordance with general human and evangelic value and thousand-year tradition and culture of Croatian people and majority of other Croatian citizens.)*

In general, the institution of the Roman Catholic Church and the Catholicism as the main religion were a significant source of authority and a basis for legitimising the referendum initiative. Such strategies were not used only by the members of the Roman Catholic Church, but also by citizens supporting the referendum, who wanted to preserve the Catholic values in the country.

It is important to note that additional legitimation for the referendum came from the support of other religious communities in Croatia, making the heteronormative definition of marriage in the Constitution their shared objective. Given that occasions and topics on which the religious leaders in Croatia come to an agreement are rare, this was a significant source of legitimation.

Conformity is another source of legitimation, and in this context, it is not applied to individuals but Croatia on the whole, who is expected to conform to the European civilisation circle, especially after joining the EU. Hannes Swoboda, the president of the Socialists and Democrats Group in the European Parliament comments that pursuing the marriage referendum initiative is not in the conformity with human rights and social values of this circle:

*The extreme right and the religious groups that lobbied in favour of this constitutional amendment must urgently confront the reality: LGBT rights, equality and human rights are all part of a bigger concept of fundamental rights and values shared by Europeans. I expect Croatia to share these values, especially now that it is an EU member state. (File 2406201)*

Sources of authority can be impersonal, for example, the European Court of Human Rights and its judgements are often referred to when arguing that something is or is not classified as a human right. LGBT activist Sanja Juras notes that the right to family life is a fundamental human right and should be available to all couples. If the referendum outcome would change the Constitution in a way that would deny any citizens the freedom to enjoy family life, then the work that “In the Name of the Family” are doing is contradictory to decisions made by the European Court of Human Rights.

Laws and regulations also present a basis for legitimation by authority. The Minister of Public Governance, Arsen Bauk, explains that amending the Constitution to define marriage will not have an effect on the Family Law, which regulates what a family is:

***Obiteljski zakon definira brak kao zajednicu muškarca i žene i to ishod vezan uz referendum, ma kakav bio, neće promijeniti. (File 2878751)***

***(The Family Law defines marriage as a union of a man and a woman and this will not be changed by the outcome of the referendum, whatever it is.)***

This suggests that the referendum initiative itself is redundant.

The fact that the decision on the definition of marriage is made through the referendum procedure is also a legitimatising element, as the referendum expresses the will of all people. This argument was supported by Constitutional Law professors, like Professor Podolnjak, who have personal authority as legal experts:

***Čak 11 profesora ustavnog prava potvrdili su da je Ustav jasan oko toga da Sabor i vlast moraju učiniti kako narod odredi (File 2405789)***

***(As many as 11 professors of constitutional law have confirmed that the Constitution is clear about the Parliament and the Government having to do what the people say.)***

When discussing different types of families, some actors found that their own role as a parent in a heterosexual marriage was, in itself, a source of legitimation of their views, and an indicator of which side they are supporting.

Legitimation or delegitimation of the referendum initiative can also come from the personal authority of social actors who support or oppose the referendum. “In the Name of the Family”, as well as the initiatives opposing their work, had a number of public figures and celebrities expressing their support and joining the campaign. The support was relayed for late figures, like Sasa Broz saying her grandfather, the Yugoslav political leader Tito, would oppose the referendum.

A citizen interviewed at a polling station explained she voted against the referendum proposition since she believed it Jesus would have opposed it too:

***Jesus would never sign this petition as he would not allow anyone to be treated as a second-class citizen," said Simic, appearing on a popular talk show on Croatian state television. (File2406129)***

#### 8.4.4. Mythopoesis: Of Wolves and Sheep

Legitimation strategies based on mythopoesis were also found in the analysed sample, although they were not the most frequent choice of social actors engaged in the discussion. This type of legitimation involves narrative elements as a means to support the validity of a particular action or an aim. Social actors in both national and international corpus have used when talking about the referendum initiative and potential repercussion of a positive referendum outcome. Mythopoesis is realised through cautionary and moral tales or relating to symbolic elements.

LGBT activists have used this strategy, in particular, speculating on the future initiatives that might arise after the referendum, e.g. the ones addressing abortion, the rights of other minorities, the death penalty, etc. The other referendum opponents have even gone further and suggested that introducing a marriage definition into the Constitution might eventually lead to fascism-like movements, discriminating people based on their appearance:

*Danas je riječ o gayeima, sutra o Srbima, prekosutra o Židovima, dan nakon toga o ženama, dan nakon toga o onima koji su predebeli, zatim o onima koji imaju predugačak nos zato jer nisu arijevskeg podrijetla, nemaju adekvatan razmak između očiju, nisu plavokosi...*  
(File2878744)

*(Today it is about gays, tomorrow about Serbs, the next day about Jews, then women, people who are too fat, have a long nose because they aren't Aryan, do not have adequate space between their eyes, aren't blonde...)*

This strategy is further developed to directly engage with prospective members of the audience and frame the issue as personally relevant to everyone:

*„Danas su na tapeti LGBT osobe i Srbi, a već sutra to može biti bilo tko drugi. Možda i vi!“, poručuje Benčić. (File 2405680)*

*(“Today the target are LGBT people and Serbs, and tomorrow it could be anyone else. Maybe even you!”, says Bencic.)*

The actors supporting the referendum also used cautionary tales in an exaggerated way to indicate the potential perils of heterosexual marriage not being introduced in the Constitution, claiming the next step in expanding the freedom of citizens might be to allow the paedophiles to marry their victims. Such strategies were recognised and opposing social actors have warned the voters not to succumb to such scaremongering.

Apart from cautionary tales, the actors and groups supporting the referendum used symbolism and comparisons to convey their messages. The possibility of different

types of the union being equalled in name and legal recognition to marriage was compared to grade inflation in the educational environment:

*- To vam je kao - ako učenik ima peticu , a ostali drugačije ocjene, tom učeniku puno znači što ima peticu. No onda dođe profesor i svim drugim učenicima da petice, pa onda tom jednom učeniku ta njegova petica više ne znači toliko. (File 2879086)*

*(This is like an A student appreciating their A grade when others have different grades. If a teacher comes and gives everyone else an A too, the student does not value their A that much)*

The leader of the initiative “In the Name of the Family” Željka Markić compares their campaign to the biblical story of David and Goliath, where faith and courage are sufficient to overcome great obstacles. Another symbolic narrative has been used by a politician opposing the referendum; in this case, it was not to show similarity but the difference in the circumstances and potential outcomes of the situation:

*Ovaj referendum je sve samo ne demokracija. Pročitao sam nedavno da je demokracija kad se dva vuka i ovca dogovore što će ručati. Međutim, u ovom slučaju su se dva vuka dogovorila da će pojesti ovcu. To svakako nije demokracija - zaključio je Parić. (File 2878842)*

*(This referendum is anything but democracy. I've recently read that democracy is when two wolves and a sheep agree on what to have for lunch. However, in this case the two wolves agreed to eat the sheep. That certainly isn't democracy.)*

In both corpora, the analysis revealed that legitimization by mythopoesis was mainly used in reference to topics from the public domain, primarily the referendum and its potential repercussions, as well as the wider social impact. Similarly, the influence on the individual was raised in the context of social changes rather than the individual's sexual orientation or personal choices regarding marriage and parenthood.

Both supporters and opponents of the referendum have employed cautionary tales and taken to exaggeration and almost intimidation. For example, it is not very likely that a “yes” vote would lead to persecution of bicycle owners, or that the “against” vote would result in paedophiles marrying children:

*“Today, homosexuals are on the agenda, tomorrow it will be those who have bicycles, then people with dogs, Jews, we know how it goes,” Ilija Desnica, an elderly man who voted ‘no’ on the referendum, told AFP. (File2406072)*

*“The next step could then be allowing paedophiles to establish a marriage union with their victims.” (File 2755338)*

#### 8.4.5. Majority: *The terror or the will of the people?*

As noted in the section 8.2.3., the annotation scheme for legitimisation strategies, the further analysis of the discursive strategies and the co-text and context in which these emerged, inductively led me to propose another category – legitimisation by majority. This section explains the conceptualisation of this category of legitimisation and illustrates how it was used by social actors in the national and international media reports.

During the analysis of the sample reports from the international and national corpus, legitimisation by majority was identified as a discursive strategy distinct from the four previously. The difference is that legitimisation by majority encompasses morality, authority and rationalisation, as a single discursive strategy.

In particular, this legitimisation strategy is employed by referendum supporters, but also addressed by the opponents. Frequently, it is found in relation to democracy as value. Moreover, the referendum was called a “festival of democracy” by Zeljka Markic, since it was seemingly initiated and supported by the people, rather than organised by the state institutions:

*Zeljka Markic (...), finishes every of her speeches with: “Join us on Sunday to celebrate together **the festival of democracy!**” (File2755336)*

The very fact that the majority is empowered and legitimising the referendum cause is represented as a source of optimism and indicator of the positive development of the Croatian society.

*Prošli smo trnovit put da dođemo do ovoga i **građani se jako mogu ponositi ovim. Ovo je velika stvar za Hrvatsku.** (File2405825)*

*(We went through a rough patch to achieve this and **the citizens should be very proud. This is a big deal for Croatia.**)*

*The essence of the debate was that **for the first time a civil initiative could change the Constitution.** (File2755338)*

The representatives of the initiative “In the Name of the Family” explain that the referendum is a chance to demonstrate the support of the majority and also because

the decision is made by the majority of the sovereign people who choose to vote, it has the supreme legitimacy:

*Riječ je o odluci donesenoj na najvišoj mogućoj razini. Donio ju je suvereni narod i ne postoji ništa iznad referendumske odluke na ustavnom referendumu. (File2405733)*

*(This decision is made on the highest possible level. It was made by the sovereign people and there is nothing above the decision made through a constitutional referendum.)*

The legitimacy of the majority was in some cases even acknowledged by the actors who did not support the Initiative's aim and the content of the referendum question:

*"Iako se s referendumskim pitanjem ne slažemo, do kraja ćemo braniti pravo građana da imaju takav referendum" (File2878823)*

*(Even though we do not agree with the referendum question, we will defend the right of the citizens to have it until the end)*

*Možemo se zapitati je li ovo sve skupa imalo smisla, ali to je demokracija. (File2878624)*

*(We can wonder if all of this had any sense, but that is democracy.)*

The criticism of the citizen-initiated referendum is that it infringes on the rights of the minority, and the opposing view is that these rights, as well as any other social matters, should be decided on by the majority of the citizens, in the spirit of democracy.

*Hoće li referendum o braku ugroziti prava LGBT osoba? (File2878928) (Will the marriage referendum endanger the rights of the LGBT persons?)*

*Pitanje koje smo mi postavili poduprlo je 750 tisuća građana ove zemlje i činjenica je da to pitanje ne krši ljudska prava nikome. (File2878746)*

*(The question we have asked has been supported by 750 thousand Croatian citizens and it is a fact that it does not infringe on anyone's human rights.)*

However, the legitimation by majority has been challenged on several grounds by the referendum opponents. Given the specific Croatian context (see 2.2. *Direct democracy procedures in Croatia before 2013* for more details), the referendum was binding regardless of the number of people that voted in the referendum. In practice, this would have meant that an affirmative vote from few citizens, or even just one, would have sufficed to change the Constitution legally.

*"Theoretically, only one person could cast a vote and the decision would be valid for everyone," Puhovski said. (File 2755419)*

This was one of the main criticisms of this source of legitimation, voiced by the referendum opponents, as well as the neutral social actors. It was argued that the majority of citizens did not, in fact, support the Constitution changes since 63% of registered voters did not vote in the referendum. The social actors opposing the referendum question also suggested that the majority of citizens were misinformed and had signed the petition in haste and impetuously.

Apart from varying interpretations of what constitutes a majority, its role and responsibilities were understood differently. The social actors opposing the referendum argue that being in the majority does not warrant power over the minorities, and some propose the role of the majority is to actually care for and protect the minorities:

*Svi u ovoj državi trebaju imati iste uvjete i jednostavno mislim da mi kao većina moramo zaštititi manjinu. (File 2879113)*

*(Everyone in this country should have the same conditions and I simply believe that as a majority we must protect the minority.)*

Content-wise, this legitimation strategy is grounded within the *Public Life* semantic domain but there are the intersections with the *Private life* domain, and the impact on the personal lives of the individuals is what makes it particularly controversial.

## 8.5. Discussion and concluding remarks

The final part of the analysis presented in this project focused on the legitimation of the views in the debate preceding the referendum on marriage definition in Croatia. The design incorporated the findings about the semantic domains appearing in the media reports, as well as the insights on the social actors supporting and opposing the referendum. Through an iterative annotation process, I have adapted van Leeuwen's (2008) model of discursive legitimation, focusing on the basic differentiation between strategies based on morality, rationalisation, authority and mythopoesis. My analysis inductively led to proposing a category of discursive strategies, legitimation by majority. The analysis included direct speech from social actors, as published in online reports in international and national media.

Considering the findings on the whole, there is a consistency between the international and national corpus. Legitimation by morality and rationalisation are most frequent in the statements quoted in both corpora, and they were often found intertwined in a single strategy. Authorisation and mythopoesis have not been employed as often, but these strategies offered a valuable insight into the views and positioning of the social actors in the debate. In terms of semantic domains, the legitimation strategies used within the public semantic domain addressed the wider social context in which the referendum had been organised. The strategies applied in relation to the private semantic domain, discursive legitimation strategies referred to marriage and parenthood.

The social actors supporting the referendum initiative, members of the Roman Catholic Church, in particular, used legitimation strategies based on morality to evaluate and compare different types of families and parenthood. These strategies suggested that marriage and family are important and of interest to all public and that in order to be qualified as such and be valuable, marriage and family need to include a man and a woman. On the other hand, the actors opposing the initiative evaluated the fact the referendum is happening and the intention behind it, rather than focusing on the contents of the referendum question. In the samples from both corpora, the contents of these strategies also involved evaluating the current and future condition of human rights in Croatia. The opposing politicians and citizens employed abstraction, equating the referendum to a general demise of the position and treatment of minority groups in the society.

Legitimation based on rationalisation includes the most diverse discursive strategies in both national and international corpus. However, in the national corpus, the focus is on the public semantic domain, especially on the referendum procedure and human rights, whereas the statements in the reports from the international corpus are direct on the topics from the private domain, like marriage and parenthood. There are two main strands emerging in the legitimation by rationalisation. The first one relies on the knowledge and the beliefs behind the initiative and is mostly employed by the social actors supporting the referendum initiative. They suggest that a marriage between a man and a woman and a family they build are natural and that in itself is a sufficient argument to have it introduced in the constitution as the only legally recognised form



of marriage. Both supporters and opponents of the referendum initiative also referred to empirical findings of different studies endorsing their views.

The other strand of legitimisation through rationalisation includes the strategies focused on the aims and effects of the proposed actions. There is a wide range of referendum aims that are suggested by different actors, from prohibiting same-sex unions to be called marriage and to be allowed to adopt children, to showcasing the power of Roman Catholic Church in Croatia or destabilising the government. Such diversity of aims might explain the high amount of support the referendum initiative had received from various groups. With regards to the effects of the referendum, the supporters of the initiative argue that a positive outcome of the referendum would preclude the liberalisation of the society and changes that might follow it. The opponents of the referendum explain the detrimental consequences it would have not only on the members of the LGBT community but the wider society, and even the country's economy.

Legitimation by authority uncovers the silent sources of power in the Croatian society. Traditional Christian values and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church emerge in contrast to conforming to the European cultural and social circle Croatia is even closer to since having joined the European Union in July 2013. When it comes to personal authority, various public figures have expressed their support for either side, which served both to legitimate and delegitimize the purpose of the referendum. The opposition overtly expressed by the left-wing government and some media had a major role in polarising not only the debate but also the public opinion. Legitimation also relied on impersonal sources of authority like institutions and legislation, which did allow for the referendum to be held but did not explicitly weigh in on either side. Finally, the fact that the decision on the definition of marriage was made through a referendum meant that it was authorised by the power of majority vote, even if this vote was not cast by the overall majority of citizens.

Mythopoesis as a basis of legitimisation was found in strategies most prominently used by the social actors opposing the referendum, who depicted possible scenarios following the positive referendum outcome. They warned that the success of the marriage referendum initiative might open doors to further projects aimed at limiting the rights of other groups of citizens and even turning Croatia into a totalitarian

country. Finally, the legitimization by majority emerges as a strategy encompassing morality, rationalisation and authority as sources of legitimization. This discursive strategy is most frequently used by the referendum supporters to legitimise both the topic of the referendum, as well as the fact that it happened. From this discursive strategy, it follows that whatever is supported by the majority is represented as rightful and beneficial to the entire society.

The analysis of the discursive strategies employed by the social actors revealed that only a part of the legitimization on both sides of the debate revolved around the definition of marriage. For many, the referendum was a symbol of wider social changes, portrayed differently by actors supporting and opposing it. An important aspect of the referendum's socio-political context is Croatia's accession to the European Union. This process alone was the onset of a lot of changes for the country, many of these in the area of legislation, which needed to be compliant with the European Union's criteria. The implementation of these changes and the prospect of further ones are perceived as detrimental for the preservation of traditional Croatian values, firmly based on Catholicism, and as a threat to Croatian society in general.

In positioning themselves in the marriage referendum debate, the social actors take a stance on the direction of Croatia's development, either towards a traditional, conservative society, or a society reflecting the more liberal values of the European Union and Western Europe.

## 9. Discussion and conclusions

### 9.1. Introduction

In the earlier chapters, I have presented the analysis of the data and discussed my findings about the representations of the marriage referendum debate in the national and international corpus. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 shed light on who were the actors involved in the media debate, what they debated about, which discursive strategies they used to legitimise their views, and how this was represented in the media in Croatia and worldwide.

This chapter will offer a comprehensive overview of how the study has answered the set research questions, and present the project's contributions in terms of expanding the understanding of the marriage referendum debate in Croatia and its representations in different media contexts. I will also outline the innovation in the methodological approach to identifying the social actors in media texts and developments in conceptualising legitimisation by majority as a discursive strategy. The chapter also discusses the possible applications of the study and a reflection on the research process and design. Finally, I address the limitations of this study and offer recommendations for further research.

### 9.2. Discussion of the main findings and implications of the study

The objective of this research project was to explore the representations of the marriage referendum debate in Croatia in the national and international media reports. I have used WebBootCaT within Sketch Engine to compile two corpora of media reports, one including media reports in the Croatian language, and the other one media reports in the English language. The analysis of the corpora was guided by the following research questions:

1. Who are the main social actors in the marriage referendum debate in the media and how are these actors represented in the national and international corpus?
2. What are the main topics in the marriage referendum debate and how are these represented in the national and international corpus?

3. Which discursive legitimization strategies are used by social actors in the national and international corpus?

#### 9.2.1. Representation of the social actors in the marriage debate

Considering the objective of the project was to gain an understanding of a debate, a communication process, my analysis started with the social actors, who were taking part and, without which there would be no debate. Understanding social actors as cognitive and interacting entities, producing discourse in relation to each other (van Dijk 1995), I explored direct speech, identifying the actors as sayers in the corpus data (Halliday 1985, 2014).

The focus of the analysis was to investigate the most prominent social actors in the media representation, rather than providing an exhaustive list of actors involved in the debate. I have found partial consistency between the two corpora regarding social actors appearing in the online media reports. There is a plurality of voices engaging with the debate, from different sphere of the society, like the LGBT and human rights activists, politicians, representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, legal and political experts and media personalities. These social actors are divided into groups supporting and opposing the referendum initiative, creating ‘us’ and ‘them’ model (Wodak 2008). The positive self-representation and negative other-representation (van Dijk 1995) mirror the existing social and political divisions in the Croatian society. In the international corpus reports, in particular, there is a polarisation between the LGBT community and the rest of the actors in Croatia, who were often homogenised and the whole country was shown as hostile towards the minorities. Such reports leave Croatia in a negative light, despite eventually adopting one of the most tolerant laws in the region.

The national media reports show a different perspective, where the Croatian people are in a position to take power and choose between the two lobbying groups. This finding, especially considering the wide range of actors involved, is contrary to the idea that direct democracy engages and benefits only the elites and not the people (Merkel 2014). Even though the distinct division between the referendum-supporting and opposing social actors can be regarded negatively, it is encouraging that the LGBT community was a powerful participant of the debate, both through the contribution of LGBT organisations and individuals and through the support of the rest of the society.

In this light, the referendum presents a milestone in the development of LGBT advocacy in Croatia. However, it is worrying that the LGBT minority is presented in a very homogenised way. It is only gay men and lesbian women who appear as the influential actors and sayers in the debate, and whose rights are considered in the discussion of the implications of the referendum initiative and the outcome.

### 9.2.2. Representation of the main topics in the debate

Through analysing the contents of the debate, the study found that the topics could be grouped in *Private life* and *Public life* semantic domain. These domains emerge in both corpora, and likewise, the *Public life* domain is dominant in both. The national corpus is focused more on reporting about the procedures related to the referendum and concerns about the legality of the referendum and LGBT civil rights, orienting towards the institutions and legislation. The representation of the *Public life* topics in the international corpus suggests the events in Croatia are frames as a deterioration of human rights and oppression of the LGBT minority in the society. Interestingly, although the Roman Catholic Church and its members comprise a salient group of social actors, elements related to Catholicism or other religions do not stand out among the significant topics in either of the corpora.

In the *Private life* domain, the concept of marriage is negotiated, particularly in the national corpus, through equalling and distinguishing it from other forms of unions. From the perspective of the referendum supporters, the same-sex marriage legalisation is negative, but the real threat lies in the possibility of adoption right for same-sex partners. This is in line with Bachmann's (2001) findings about the 'thin edge of the wedge' discoursed in the debate in the UK parliament. The concept of family, found as the name and the purpose of the initiative starting the referendum, was again found prevent in the national corpus. The prescriptive ideas of who should constitute a family, as well as invoking the threat of same-sex marriage, tie in with the constructivist approach by Topić et al. (2014) which interlinks homosexuality and ethnonationalism and religion to account for the marginalisation of minorities in the Western-Balkan societies. The preservation of the values related to the traditional, conservative patriarchy is ingrained in the nationalistic agenda or the right-wing parties.

The strong link between *family* and *children*, especially in the national corpus, can be considered in the perspective of the claim by Wodak that the “conceptual metaphor of the ‘family’ has taken on a nativist dimension (...), and the threat, experienced by many in our globalizing societies, of changing gender roles”. The idea of child adoption by same-sex couples puts in peril the notion of a woman and a man, and only them, being able to bring up children and form families.

The differences found in the representation of the topics in the national and international corpus, suggest a difference in the functionality, and ultimately, the effect of the reports. With focusing on the broader, universal theme like human rights and position of minorities within the Croatian society, the international sources seem to be describing the events related to the marriage referendum to third parties. The national reports appear to be open to the negotiation of concepts such as legality or understanding of the notions of marriage and family, allowing space for many actors of actors to voice their stances.

### 9.2.3. Representation of the legitimization strategies in the debate

The present study applied a deductive analytical approach, adopting van Leeuwen’s model of legitimization (2008). The initial part of the analysis found that only the main branches were efficiently applicable in the annotation process in the context of media discourse. This finding supports the adaptation of leaner models discursive legitimization as suggested by Vaara et al. (2007) and Erkama and Vaara (2010).

The social actors across both corpora predominantly use legitimization by morality and rationalisation. The former was applied by evaluating different definitions of marriage and family and was in the focus of the referendum supporters, particularly the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. The referendum-opposing actors focused on evaluating the agenda behind the referendum and its potential impact on the state of LGBT and human rights in general in Croatia.

Rationalisation-based legitimization yielded the most diverse range of discursive strategies, particularly in terms of the topics. In addition to introducing more or less scientific arguments on why the heteronormative definition of marriage is or is not favourable, the social actors addressed the potential effect of the referendum on the

country's economy, the welfare of its citizens and its reputation in the world. The tradition and "Croatian values" served as a source for legitimization by authority for the referendum-supporting social actors, whereas the opposition mostly drew on the legislation and institutions to legitimise their views on the referendum. While legal and political experts were called on to offer opinions on the legality of the referendum procedure and the status of the referendum outcome, as well as the possible repercussions of the Constitutional change, very few experts were consulted regarding the content of marriage itself. The studies some of the actors referred to were focusing on the upbringing and wellbeing of children, rather than experiences of partners forming the marital union.

Discursive strategies built on mythopoesis were employed to frame both the referendum and the prospects of Croatia introducing same-sex marriages as a diabolical plan to debilitate the nation's development and prosperity. Furthermore, the supporters of the referendum were equated to fascist and racists, and the opponents are presented as posing a grave and immediate threat to all the heterosexual couples and families.

Finally, the legitimization by majority emerged in the process of annotation as a form of discursive legitimization distinct from the four other branches. The main premise of this type of legitimization is that actions or views which are supported by the majority of the group are by default not only binding but also morally good and rationally founded. The ambiguous element of legitimization by majority is that it is unclear who is considered to be a majority in a given situation and at what stage of the debate process. As a corollary, this ambiguity prompted some of the actors in the reports to question democracy but also address the phenomenon of citizen activism and mobilisation across different spheres of Croatian society.

### 9.3. Contributions of the study

The present study makes several contributions to the field. Firstly, it adds to the current state of knowledge in specific and general terms. The 2013 referendum in Croatia was the first one not to be initiated by the authorities and has changed the Constitution so that it will never be possible for same-sex partnerships to be legally called *marriage*.

Inadvertently, it also created a space for a nation-wide discussion of LGBT rights and gave voice to the LGBT community and their supporters.

However, apart from the conference paper by Dobrotić et al. (2015) looking at print newspapers, there is no research focusing on the online media reports on the marriage referendum debate in Croatia, particularly language-focused. The current study addressed this gap through the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the language used in the corpus of online media reports. Furthermore, the contribution of this study is in a manifold approach to the marriage referendum debate, offering an insight into the language used to represent the topics, social actors involved, and the legitimization strategies employed by the actors.

Additionally, the analysis of the corpus of international reports, the study expanded the focus to include how the debate was reported on in the online media reports in the English language, published for a global audience. This helped highlight the differences in the role of the media in the international and national corpus; the former mostly reporting on the human rights and minorities aspect of the debate, and the latter preoccupied with the legality of the referendum procedure. In general, the study contributed to a better understanding of the issue of anti-minority movements and their construction in the media discourse of post-transition countries, as well as showcased an example of direct-democracy exercised with few legal restrictions.

Regarding methodology, the innovation this study offers is in its approach to social actors. While many studies explore construction and representation of social actors in discourse (van Dijk and Wodak 2000, van Leeuwen 2008, KhosraviNik 2010), there is no clear framework on how to identify the actors in the text in the first place. To address this, I focused on the representation of the actors' involvement in the debate, realised through their statements. The model I propose in section 6.2. *Approaching social actors* draws on the transitivity system (Halliday 1985, 2014) and uses verbal processes in the corpora as a tool for locating social actors as sayers. The analysis of the concordance lines containing verbal processes allowed me to further investigate and categorise social actors. This approach proved effective for the analysis of social actors in media discourse.

The theoretical contribution of the study is primarily in the adaptation and development of the model of discursive legitimization proposed by van Leeuwen



(2008). The application in the analysis of the media discourse revealed that the thin branches of the model were not as operational for the analysis of a larger volume of data, although both corpora were downsampled. On the other hand, the first level of categorisation was found applicable to the data used in this project. Regarding the categories of legitimisation, the study proposed a new type of legitimisation strategy. The findings suggest that legitimisation by majority surfaces from and alongside other types of legitimisation found in the corpora. Relying on the premise that any viewpoint or action supported by majority is rightful, this type of discursive strategy incorporates different elements of legitimisation by rationalisation, morality and authority. However, the problematic aspect of legitimisation by majority is that the notion of the majority, central to this discursive strategy, is not given but highly debatable.

### 9.3.1. Potential applications of the study

From a general methodological perspective, the present study may be of interest to anyone looking to compile and study two or more corpora in different languages (the following section will offer some of the methodological reflections), particularly working with debates or addressing potentially divisive phenomena.

Considering the findings of the study in terms of the topics presented in the debate reports and the legitimisation strategies used, there are recommendations that could be made for the spokespeople advocating for either of the sides, as well as media professionals

. The analysis of the main topics in the national corpus showed a strong focus on the legal aspect of the referendum and many social actors directed their attention to the procedural matters surrounding the referendum and used technical field-specific language. A potential risk of swaying the debate in this direction is that some of the audience might have detached the referendum and the act of voting from the impact the referendum outcome might have on their fellow citizens. Drawing on this, I would suggest approaching the referendum topic in a more balanced manner, which would engage a wider portion of the society.

Furthermore, while opening the space for the discussion of LGBT matters in the public space was a beneficial development overall, the polarisation between the two groups

of actors in the debate had likely had a detrimental impact on the quality of the debate and the engagement of voters. I would warn against the disdainful language used employed through legitimization by morality, as it is further alienating already marginalised and discriminated groups. Likewise, exaggeration in mythopoesis, although rhetorically effective, was unhelpful as it possibly trivialised the referendum topic.

### 9.3.2. Learning points and methodological reflections

My journey with this PhD project was a dynamic one, especially in terms of my own changing position as a researcher. The first draft of the research proposal was born out of annoyance and disappointment that I felt as a Croatian citizen witnessing the emergence of the initiative which I felt threatened the rights of several social groups. At the time of the completion, I no longer reside in Croatia have relatively few links left with the country. However, my critical stance has not diminished, although its focus has somewhat dispersed.

One of the first challenges was to decide on the research objectives and questions. While I believe that looking at the actors, topics and legitimization captured the substance of the debate, there are many elements, particularly in terms media involvement, which did not fit the scope of this PhD project. It was the first time I used the WebBootCaTing method of corpus compilation, having initially attempted to compile the corpora manually, which was heavily influenced by my, on reflection, superficial knowledge of the media scene. The corpus compilation was successful, although adding meta-data to reports would have made corpora more user-friendly.

This study was not only an exploration of the debate representation, but also methodological approaches. It was challenging to choose a single way to analyse data without narrowing my research questions, and in this project, I have decided to combine several approaches. The analysis of the main topics represented in the entailed a fairly conventional corpus approach to discourse, relying on the collocations and qualitative analysis of the concordances. With the social actors, I have focused on their role as sayers, highlighting debate as communication. The initial stages of this process were time-consuming but were helpful in identifying the actors represented

most prominently in the corpora. For the exploration on the legitimization strategies it was not possible to use single collocates as a ‘way in’, so answering the final research question needed a different approach. By down-sampling the corpora, I was able to pay the same attention to all the data within the samples identify and analyse different discursive strategies, ranging from phrases, to sentence or even paragraphs.

#### 9.4. Limitations of the study

There are some limitations recognised with regard to the current research project. Firstly, the corpora compiled, although arguably representative, are relatively small, and this strongly influences the generalisability of the findings. The corpora also included text only, as my study focused on the language, and had not adopted a multi-modal approach. Secondly, since I have manually conducted some aspects of the corpora compilation, it is possible that I have made mistakes by including or not including relevant contents. Similar might be claimed for the tagging of the corpora. Furthermore, the two corpora, although including all the WebBootCaT-ed sources, are disproportionate in size and this imposes limitations in quantitative-based comparisons. Also, the international corpus is highly heterogeneous in terms of data sources. The articles are produced in vastly different working contexts and very different media working practices, which needs to be taken into consideration when comparing the findings of the qualitative analysis.

With regards to the analysis of the legitimization strategies, this was done by the researcher only, and there was no second annotator, as it was difficult to find a researcher fluent in both Croatian and English language and sufficiently familiar with van Leeuwen’s model of legitimization and linguistic research in general. However, I have discussed the processes and problematic instances and carried out two rounds of analysis to achieve consistency and standardise the annotations across both samples.

To ensure the analysis is feasible, I made a decision to downsample the data and, even though I focused on the richest samples and frequent patterns, it is possible that I have missed some of the noteworthy language features. Finally, due to the scope of the current project, it was not possible to address all the aspects of discourse which would have contributed to a better understanding of the case study. I decided to focus on *who*,

*what* and *how* questions in the reports' language, arguing that these capture the crux of the marriage referendum debate.

### 9.5. Recommendations for further research

The contributions and limitations of this project presented earlier in the chapter reveal several areas where further research would be welcome. Firstly, in terms of the type of data used, it would be valuable to adopt a multimodal approach and explore the aspects of the debate other than textual, particularly the choice of photographs in reporting in both Croatian and global media.

Furthermore, the analysis of the "In the Name of the Family" and opposing initiatives' campaigns in the social media, as well as citizen journalism in response to the referendum initiative would add to the understanding of the social processes in Croatian society. The differences between the findings in the national and international corpus show that news is not simply translated for the international audience and, highlight the need to further explore the role newswire agencies as mediators and creators of information.

One of the methodological challenges of the current project was identifying social actors in the text. In Chapter 6, I proposed an approach based on Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics where, in the context of a debate, the social actors were defined as sayers and located in the texts based on their participation in verbal processes. Future studies replicating the approach with different sets of textual data would be beneficial in further developing the methodology of identifying and analysing social actors in different types of discourse.

Finally, with regards to the theoretical framework of legitimization, this project argues that discursive strategies based on the majority constitute a distinct form of legitimization. Considering the more recent political developments world-wide where direct democracy is exercised in the form of a referendum, with varying constitutional constraints, further conceptual work is urgently needed to address this type of legitimization, explore its features in the public discourse, and understand how it is employed by social actors in different contexts.

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## Appendix I: Ethics Approval form

### Centre for Applied Linguistics

### Application for Ethical Approval

### MPhil/PhD Students

#### A Information

<b>Name of student:</b>	<b>Ana Kedveš</b>
<b>Date of registration:</b>	<b>29/09/2014</b>
<b>Project title:</b>	<b>Critical discourse analysis of Croatian and international media reports on the citizen initiative “In the name of the family”</b> (working title)
<b>Supervisor:</b>	<b>Dr Sue Wharton</b>
<b>CRB Clearance:</b>	<b>Obtained</b>

#### B Texts

*My research includes textual data published in the public domain. No special permissions are necessary to obtain these texts.*

#### C Participants

##### Details

*My research does not include participants I will interact with.*

### **Respect for participants' rights and dignity**

*All the research will be conducted in a way that respects universal human rights and dignity of all parties involved. None of the data will be misrepresented so as to harm the other parties.*

### **Privacy and Confidentiality**

*There are no participants I will interact with while undertaking the research. I will make sure not disclose any names of the authors who published the texts under pseudonyms.*

## **D Consent**

***Will prior informed consent be obtained?***

- from participants      YES/NO**
- from others              YES/NO**

*No consent is necessary because all of the used data is found within public domain and is available without special permission.*

## **E Security and protection**

### **Data storage**

*All the data will be stored on password-protected Warwick ITS managed H drive, with several password-protected back up options. The data will be kept at least until the examination process is complete.*

F Protection

***Describe the nature and degree of any risk (psychological as well as physical) to participants and the steps that will be taken to deal with this. Identify any potential risks to the researcher and the procedures that will be in place for dealing with these.***

*The project does not include interaction with participants and it does not entail potential risks to the researcher.*

***How will you ensure that your research and its reporting are honest, fair and respectful to others?***

*I will report on my findings in an honest way, respectful to the parties involved, not misrepresenting the data in any way.*

***How will you ensure that the research and the evidence resulting from it are not misused?***

*Reports on the findings of this will be published in line with the conventions of academic writing and it is expected that the audience will treat it in this way too, in an honest and respectful way, not misrepresenting the findings or the data analysed.*

G Ethical dilemmas

*Any ethical dilemmas which might arise while undertaking this research project will be promptly communicated to the supervisor, in order to discuss the nature of following actions. If the issue cannot be resolved in this way, we will then notify the Director of Graduate Studies and/or Director of Research.*

#### H Authorship

*Any published work, other than the doctoral thesis, related to this project and resulting from direct collaboration with the supervisor will be jointly published, with PhD student as the first author. The PhD student might also publish independently as sole author.*

#### I Other issues

*Please specify other issues not discussed above, if any, and how you will address them.*

*No other issues arise.*

#### J Signatures

**Research student**

**Date**

**Supervisor**

**Date**

#### K Action

Action taken

☐ **Approved**

☐ **Approved with modification or conditions – see Notes below**

☐ **Action deferred – see Notes below**

☐ **[Where applicable] CRB clearance reported to HSSREC**

**Name**

**Date**

**Signature**

Notes of Action

Date of Approval by Graduate Progress Committee



## Appendix II: URL list for the national media reports corpus

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file2405636	<a href="http://politika.com/brak-ili-istospolna-zajednica">http://politika.com/brak-ili-istospolna-zajednica</a>
file2405797	<a href="http://www.hazud.ch/tag/Željka-Markiћ/">http://www.hazud.ch/tag/Željka-Markiћ/</a>
file2878656	<a href="http://libela.org/sa-stavom/3668-u-ime-obitelji-pitanje-jest-cije/">http://libela.org/sa-stavom/3668-u-ime-obitelji-pitanje-jest-cije/</a>
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file2405683	<a href="http://glasbrotnja.net/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/Zeljka-Marki-c-velikom-broju-hrvata-prioritet-je-obitelj-djeca-brak">http://glasbrotnja.net/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/Zeljka-Marki-c-velikom-broju-hrvata-prioritet-je-obitelj-djeca-brak</a>
file2405752	<a href="http://www.vojko-obersnel.com/hr/blog/evo-je-opet-Zeljka-Marki-c-ali-tu-je-ovoga-puta-i-gong">http://www.vojko-obersnel.com/hr/blog/evo-je-opet-Zeljka-Marki-c-ali-tu-je-ovoga-puta-i-gong</a>
file2879022	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4997-graani-i-graanke-ustaju-protiv-mrnje-i-netrpeljivosti-sp-831">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4997-graani-i-graanke-ustaju-protiv-mrnje-i-netrpeljivosti-sp-831</a>
file2879036	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vijece-europe-ne-diskriminirajte-gay-osobe-901809">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vijece-europe-ne-diskriminirajte-gay-osobe-901809</a>
file2405557	<a href="http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/zakon-koji-privilegira-brak">http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/zakon-koji-privilegira-brak</a>
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file2878906	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/crna-kronika/Zeljka-Marki-c-esdepeovcima-znamo-da-se-i-vama-prijeti-otkazima-904794">http://www.vecernji.hr/crna-kronika/Zeljka-Marki-c-esdepeovcima-znamo-da-se-i-vama-prijeti-otkazima-904794</a>
file2879133	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/03/pismo-saborskim-zastupnicima-povodom-izglasavanja-zakona-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/03/pismo-saborskim-zastupnicima-povodom-izglasavanja-zakona-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/</a>
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file2878763	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/referendum-o-zdravoj-pameti-901385">http://www.vecernji.hr/referendum-o-zdravoj-pameti-901385</a>



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file2405844	<a href="http://www.pozeska-biskupija.com/index.php/89-vijesti/2014/ozujak/2137-Željka-MarkiĆ-održala-korizmenu-tribunu-u-pozegi">http://www.pozeska-biskupija.com/index.php/89-vijesti/2014/ozujak/2137-Željka-MarkiĆ-održala-korizmenu-tribunu-u-pozegi</a>
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file2878905	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4866-eljka-marki-traila-da-zatitu-od-agresivnih-lgbt-udruga-ili-izazvao-zgraanje-i-podsmijeh-sp-180">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4866-eljka-marki-traila-da-zatitu-od-agresivnih-lgbt-udruga-ili-izazvao-zgraanje-i-podsmijeh-sp-180</a>

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file2878667	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/bauk-ako-za-referendum-treba-375000-potpisa-onda-desnica-osporava-pravo-glasa-dijaspore/679201.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/bauk-ako-za-referendum-treba-375000-potpisa-onda-desnica-osporava-pravo-glasa-dijaspore/679201.aspx</a>
file2878827	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3679-temeljna-ljudska-prava-ne-mogu-se-odredjivati-na-referendumu/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3679-temeljna-ljudska-prava-ne-mogu-se-odredjivati-na-referendumu/</a>
file2405849	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/davanje-gotovo-svih-prava-iz-braka-je-izigravanje-volje-biraca-906599">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/davanje-gotovo-svih-prava-iz-braka-je-izigravanje-volje-biraca-906599</a>
file2405547	<a href="http://katoliksdnakace.blogspot.com/2012/06/istospolni-brak.html">http://katoliksdnakace.blogspot.com/2012/06/istospolni-brak.html</a>
file2405605	<a href="http://portal.braniteljski-forum.com/vijesti/opacicka-se-igra-ustavnog-suda-tvrdeci-da-nece-biti-referenduma-o-vukovaru-neka-se-bavi-kriminalom-u-svom-sektoru">http://portal.braniteljski-forum.com/vijesti/opacicka-se-igra-ustavnog-suda-tvrdeci-da-nece-biti-referenduma-o-vukovaru-neka-se-bavi-kriminalom-u-svom-sektoru</a>
file2405800	<a href="http://www.osijek031.com/osijek.php?topic_id=45214">http://www.osijek031.com/osijek.php?topic_id=45214</a>
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file2878919	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/udruge-ponasanje-drzavnih-institucija-je-opasno-901359">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/udruge-ponasanje-drzavnih-institucija-je-opasno-901359</a>
file2878728	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlast-nametanjem-jednoumlja-redefinira-brak-901829">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlast-nametanjem-jednoumlja-redefinira-brak-901829</a>
file2405573	<a href="http://www.sveti-jeronim.org/u-zastitu-braka-i-obitelji-o-obitelji-i-prvo-prosinackom-referendumu/">http://www.sveti-jeronim.org/u-zastitu-braka-i-obitelji-o-obitelji-i-prvo-prosinackom-referendumu/</a>
file2878951	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218061/9/Pero-Galic-Pripremamo-novi-album-i-veselimo-se-nastupima">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218061/9/Pero-Galic-Pripremamo-novi-album-i-veselimo-se-nastupima</a>
file2878793	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/na-referendumu-se-ipak-odlucuje-o-promjeni-ustava-901533">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/na-referendumu-se-ipak-odlucuje-o-promjeni-ustava-901533</a>
file2405600	<a href="http://www.dalsivalter.com/ozakonili-smo-sest-godina-ljubavi-mi-sklapamo-partnerstvo-ne-brak-brak-je-za-hetero-parove-a-mi-imamo-svoju-vrstu-zajednice/">http://www.dalsivalter.com/ozakonili-smo-sest-godina-ljubavi-mi-sklapamo-partnerstvo-ne-brak-brak-je-za-hetero-parove-a-mi-imamo-svoju-vrstu-zajednice/</a>
file2879119	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/24/pismo-saborskim-zastupnicima-prijedlog-zakona-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/24/pismo-saborskim-zastupnicima-prijedlog-zakona-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/</a>

file2878949	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/konzervativci-idealna-meta-za-napade-910749">http://www.vecernji.hr/konzervativci-idealna-meta-za-napade-910749</a>
file2405696	<a href="http://narod.hr/svijet/znate-li-koje-jos-poznate-osobe-ne-podrzavaju-istospolni-brak">http://narod.hr/svijet/znate-li-koje-jos-poznate-osobe-ne-podrzavaju-istospolni-brak</a>
file2405762	<a href="http://politika.com/Željka-MarkiĆ-jedina-hrvatska-gay-ikona">http://politika.com/Željka-MarkiĆ-jedina-hrvatska-gay-ikona</a>
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file2878811	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/220197/1/Mi-smo-vec-debelo-u-ustavnoj-krizi-a-vladajuci-nemaju-nikakav-plan">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/220197/1/Mi-smo-vec-debelo-u-ustavnoj-krizi-a-vladajuci-nemaju-nikakav-plan</a>
file2405653	<a href="http://www.057info.hr/vijesti/2013-06-12/i-u-ime-obitelji-ce-paradirati">http://www.057info.hr/vijesti/2013-06-12/i-u-ime-obitelji-ce-paradirati</a>
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file2878694	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/jednoumlje-kakvog-nema-od-komunizma-902256">http://www.vecernji.hr/jednoumlje-kakvog-nema-od-komunizma-902256</a>
file2878673	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-gong-je-stao-na-stranu-vlade-skrabalo-vodite-manipulatorsku-kampanju-905910">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-gong-je-stao-na-stranu-vlade-skrabalo-vodite-manipulatorsku-kampanju-905910</a>
file2879061	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/krscani-imaju-vise-razumijevanja-za-prava-homoseksualca-od-crvenih-licemjera-901650">http://www.vecernji.hr/krscani-imaju-vise-razumijevanja-za-prava-homoseksualca-od-crvenih-licemjera-901650</a>
file2878894	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/09/12/pravni-strucnjaci-predlozeni-obiteljski-zakon-je-konfuzan-i-pod-utjecajem-ideologije/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/09/12/pravni-strucnjaci-predlozeni-obiteljski-zakon-je-konfuzan-i-pod-utjecajem-ideologije/</a>
file2878636	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sucelili-smo-u-ime-obitelji-i-gradani-glasaju-protiv-ko-ima-bolje-argumente-905591">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sucelili-smo-u-ime-obitelji-i-gradani-glasaju-protiv-ko-ima-bolje-argumente-905591</a>
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file2879108	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4784-kare-obol-t-qreferendum-bi-mogao-pasti-na-proceduralnim-pogrekama-q-sp-886">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4784-kare-obol-t-qreferendum-bi-mogao-pasti-na-proceduralnim-pogrekama-q-sp-886</a>

file2405693	<a href="http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/referendum-o-braku-hrvatska-nakon-referenduma-blize-istoku-europe---313095.html">http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/referendum-o-braku-hrvatska-nakon-referenduma-blize-istoku-europe---313095.html</a>
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file2405602	<a href="http://www.ringeraja.ba/forum/fb.asp?m=47827">http://www.ringeraja.ba/forum/fb.asp?m=47827</a>
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file2878956	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218317/1/Do-11-sati-na-referendum-izaslo-929-posto-biraca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218317/1/Do-11-sati-na-referendum-izaslo-929-posto-biraca</a>
file2879065	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/josipovic-trebamo-skupiti-dovoljno-snage-da-krenemo-u-suocavanje-sa-stvarnim-problemima-drustva/714358.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/josipovic-trebamo-skupiti-dovoljno-snage-da-krenemo-u-suocavanje-sa-stvarnim-problemima-drustva/714358.aspx</a>
file2878855	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4550-referendum-nije-za-nesto-vec-protiv-nekoga/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4550-referendum-nije-za-nesto-vec-protiv-nekoga/</a>

file2878665	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4983-marki-presudila-nemate-pravo-rei-da-se-vaa-zajednica-zove-brak-niti-na-posvajanje-i-umjetnu-oplodnju-sp-345">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4983-marki-presudila-nemate-pravo-rei-da-se-vaa-zajednica-zove-brak-niti-na-posvajanje-i-umjetnu-oplodnju-sp-345</a>
file2878624	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/tko-je-kriv-za-referendum-pokojni-predsjednik-kennedy-906337">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/tko-je-kriv-za-referendum-pokojni-predsjednik-kennedy-906337</a>
file2878625	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/23/u-ime-obitelji-milanovicu-prestanite-zastrasivati-gradane/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/23/u-ime-obitelji-milanovicu-prestanite-zastrasivati-gradane/</a>
file2405623	<a href="http://uimeobitelji.net/Željka-MarkiĆ-u-slovackoj-potpuno-drugaciji-odnos-prema-biracima/">http://uimeobitelji.net/Željka-MarkiĆ-u-slovackoj-potpuno-drugaciji-odnos-prema-biracima/</a>
file2879025	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/5022-u-ime-obitelji-trazi-od-dip-a-da-gong-u-uskrati-promatranje-izbora/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/5022-u-ime-obitelji-trazi-od-dip-a-da-gong-u-uskrati-promatranje-izbora/</a>
file2405837	<a href="http://www.osijek031.com/osijek.php?najava_id=44949">http://www.osijek031.com/osijek.php?najava_id=44949</a>
file2405616	<a href="http://metro-portal.hr/katolibanija-na-nedjeljom-u-2/78765">http://metro-portal.hr/katolibanija-na-nedjeljom-u-2/78765</a>
file2878800	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/kad-svjetonazorski-rat-ue-na-vrata-istina-bjezi-kroz-prozor-341055">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/kad-svjetonazorski-rat-ue-na-vrata-istina-bjezi-kroz-prozor-341055</a>
file2405739	<a href="http://zdravstveniodgoj.com/news/hrvatska-kao-zastitnica-braka-i-obitelji">http://zdravstveniodgoj.com/news/hrvatska-kao-zastitnica-braka-i-obitelji</a>
file2878767	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-gradansku-inicijativu-zakamuflirana-stranka-jos-opasnijih-namjera-904749">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-gradansku-inicijativu-zakamuflirana-stranka-jos-opasnijih-namjera-904749</a>
file2878870	<a href="http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/226424/Default.aspx">http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/226424/Default.aspx</a>
file2879078	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4802-sabor-bi-mogao-odbiti-promjene-ustava-sp-399">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4802-sabor-bi-mogao-odbiti-promjene-ustava-sp-399</a>
file2878674	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/ancic-bi-li-toliko-bilo-za-da-protiv-nisu-bili-vlada-i-mediji-343858">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/ancic-bi-li-toliko-bilo-za-da-protiv-nisu-bili-vlada-i-mediji-343858</a>
file2878867	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vladajuci-ustavnim-promjenama-suspendiraju-demokraciju-911063">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vladajuci-ustavnim-promjenama-suspendiraju-demokraciju-911063</a>
file2878862	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/isti-mentalni-sklop-onemogucio-novinare-u-pekingu-i-u-zagrebu-906383">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/isti-mentalni-sklop-onemogucio-novinare-u-pekingu-i-u-zagrebu-906383</a>
file2878997	<a href="http://blog.vecernji.hr/mama-mima/gdje-ce-vam-dusa-5341">http://blog.vecernji.hr/mama-mima/gdje-ce-vam-dusa-5341</a>
file2879134	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sabor-usvojio-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu-osoba-istog-spola-950588">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sabor-usvojio-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu-osoba-istog-spola-950588</a>

file2878929	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/odbor-za-ustav-referendum-o-braku-1-prosinca-ove-godine-631966">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/odbor-za-ustav-referendum-o-braku-1-prosinca-ove-godine-631966</a>
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file2878735	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/266235/1/Referendumi-postali-samo-zabava-za-narod">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/266235/1/Referendumi-postali-samo-zabava-za-narod</a>
file2405673	<a href="http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/3740-cije-je-pravo-na-obitelj/">http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/3740-cije-je-pravo-na-obitelj/</a>
file2878776	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/222483/9/Ivica-Propadalo-U-Slavoniji-je-uvijek-neka-posebna-vibra">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/222483/9/Ivica-Propadalo-U-Slavoniji-je-uvijek-neka-posebna-vibra</a>
file2405771	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/268173/Tomac-i-Marki%C4%87-na-celu-marsa-U-ime-obitelji.html">http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/268173/Tomac-i-Marki%C4%87-na-celu-marsa-U-ime-obitelji.html</a>
file2405642	<a href="http://www.glas-koncila.hr/index.php?option=com_php&amp;Itemid=41&amp;news_ID=23617">http://www.glas-koncila.hr/index.php?option=com_php&amp;Itemid=41&amp;news_ID=23617</a>
file2405589	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/news/veceras-u-60-minuta-o-braku-ustavu-zdravstvenom-odgoju-316275">http://www.24sata.hr/news/veceras-u-60-minuta-o-braku-ustavu-zdravstvenom-odgoju-316275</a>
file2879029	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/02/u-ime-obitelji-2013-godina/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/02/u-ime-obitelji-2013-godina/</a>
file2879023	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sutra-mars-za-glas-protiv-na-referendumu-905777">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sutra-mars-za-glas-protiv-na-referendumu-905777</a>
file2405648	<a href="http://www.katolik.hr/aktualnomnu/osvrtimnu/borba-za-referendum-u-ime-obitelji/">http://www.katolik.hr/aktualnomnu/osvrtimnu/borba-za-referendum-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
file2878967	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5054-lgbt-zajednica-neodvojiv-je-dio-hrvatske-sp-734">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5054-lgbt-zajednica-neodvojiv-je-dio-hrvatske-sp-734</a>
file2405665	<a href="http://www.klokanica.hr/roditelji/kolumne-roditelja/kako-dijete-djeluje-na-brak-2695">http://www.klokanica.hr/roditelji/kolumne-roditelja/kako-dijete-djeluje-na-brak-2695</a>
file2879092	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/17/dr-%C5%9Celjka-Marki%C4%87-zabrinjavaju-pokusaji-cenzure-objave-krivotvorenih-izvjesca-s-tribine/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/17/dr-%C5%9Celjka-Marki%C4%87-zabrinjavaju-pokusaji-cenzure-objave-krivotvorenih-izvjesca-s-tribine/</a>
file2878705	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3810-evo-zasto-moramo-hitno-izmijeniti-zakon-o-referendumu/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3810-evo-zasto-moramo-hitno-izmijeniti-zakon-o-referendumu/</a>

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file2879040	<a href="http://blog.vecernji.hr/nikolina-nakic/istospolni-brakovi-jednakost-ili-razlicitost-3353">http://blog.vecernji.hr/nikolina-nakic/istospolni-brakovi-jednakost-ili-razlicitost-3353</a>
file2878859	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/za-glas-protiv-prikupljeno-oko-300000-kuna-905085">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/za-glas-protiv-prikupljeno-oko-300000-kuna-905085</a>
file2878639	<a href="http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/5359-clanak-38-zabranjuje-se-cenzura/">http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/5359-clanak-38-zabranjuje-se-cenzura/</a>
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file2405776	<a href="http://www.kriz-zivota.com/Željka-Markiće-nakon-dobivene-bitke-izgubila-rat/">http://www.kriz-zivota.com/Željka-Markiće-nakon-dobivene-bitke-izgubila-rat/</a>
file2405539	<a href="http://zadovoljna.dnevnik.hr/clanak/posao-obitelj/autobusna-karta-od-47-milijuna-kuna---309747.html">http://zadovoljna.dnevnik.hr/clanak/posao-obitelj/autobusna-karta-od-47-milijuna-kuna---309747.html</a>
file2878630	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moj-sin-je-gay-kako-da-mirno-spavam-kad-ima-toliko-homofoba-569720">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moj-sin-je-gay-kako-da-mirno-spavam-kad-ima-toliko-homofoba-569720</a>
file2405726	<a href="http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/758126/svaka-obitelj-moze-biti-moja-obitelj/">http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/758126/svaka-obitelj-moze-biti-moja-obitelj/</a>
file2878702	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moglo-bi-doci-do-politicko-ustavne-krize-bez-presedana-567526">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moglo-bi-doci-do-politicko-ustavne-krize-bez-presedana-567526</a>
file2405660	<a href="http://www.057info.hr/vijesti/2013-05-05/a-peticije-nas-nece-zaustaviti-trazimo-istospolne-brakove">http://www.057info.hr/vijesti/2013-05-05/a-peticije-nas-nece-zaustaviti-trazimo-istospolne-brakove</a>
file2878935	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/nije-tocno-da-je-vijece-europe-nezadovoljno-raspisivanjem-referenduma-o-braku-901945">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/nije-tocno-da-je-vijece-europe-nezadovoljno-raspisivanjem-referenduma-o-braku-901945</a>
file2405853	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/clanovi-u-ime-obitelji-predali-u-sabor-potpise-za-referendum-319410">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/clanovi-u-ime-obitelji-predali-u-sabor-potpise-za-referendum-319410</a>
file2878873	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4764-inicijativa-u-ime-obitelji-nezakonito-prikuplja-donacije-sp-554">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4764-inicijativa-u-ime-obitelji-nezakonito-prikuplja-donacije-sp-554</a>
file2878925	<a href="http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/od-zabrane-do-bojkota-medija">http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/od-zabrane-do-bojkota-medija</a>
file2878786	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/12/iskljucivo-o-nacionalnim-vladama-ovisi-kako-ce-brak-bit-reguliran-ne-o-eu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/12/iskljucivo-o-nacionalnim-vladama-ovisi-kako-ce-brak-bit-reguliran-ne-o-eu/</a>

file2878679	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/mijenja-li-se-ustav-automatski-ili-to-trebaju-napraviti-zastupnici-560106">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/mijenja-li-se-ustav-automatski-ili-to-trebaju-napraviti-zastupnici-560106</a>
file2405634	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/scitech/znanost/302382/Zivotno-partnerstvo-ponuditi-i-heteroseksualcima.html">http://www.tportal.hr/scitech/znanost/302382/Zivotno-partnerstvo-ponuditi-i-heteroseksualcima.html</a>
file2878620	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/cijena-uskracivanja-prava-istospolnih-zajednica-47-milijuna-kuna-sto-donosi-ustavna-definicija-braka/709080.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/cijena-uskracivanja-prava-istospolnih-zajednica-47-milijuna-kuna-sto-donosi-ustavna-definicija-braka/709080.aspx</a>
file2878672	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/248176/11/Cim-su-SDP-i-HDZ-protiv-referenduma-znaci-da-je-inicijativa-dobra">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/248176/11/Cim-su-SDP-i-HDZ-protiv-referenduma-znaci-da-je-inicijativa-dobra</a>
file2879007	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-cetiri-dana-vise-od-215000-potpisa-za-definiciju-braka-554449">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-cetiri-dana-vise-od-215000-potpisa-za-definiciju-braka-554449</a>
file2405649	<a href="http://www.quovadisroatia.com/brak-i-obitelj-u-sredistu-konacne-bitke-izmedu-gospodina-i-sotone/">http://www.quovadisroatia.com/brak-i-obitelj-u-sredistu-konacne-bitke-izmedu-gospodina-i-sotone/</a>
file2405650	<a href="http://www.udarno.com/tag/u-ime-obitelji">http://www.udarno.com/tag/u-ime-obitelji</a>
file2405758	<a href="http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/svijet/kad-roditelj-djetetu-prizna-da-je-gay--389251.html">http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/svijet/kad-roditelj-djetetu-prizna-da-je-gay--389251.html</a>
file2878921	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/250308/1/Socijalna-prava-gradjana-nacela-je-kriza-a-dokrajcile-su-ih-nesposobne-institucije">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/250308/1/Socijalna-prava-gradjana-nacela-je-kriza-a-dokrajcile-su-ih-nesposobne-institucije</a>
file2405784	<a href="http://motrista.blogspot.com/2009/10/anarholiberalizam-je-ugrozio-brak-i.html">http://motrista.blogspot.com/2009/10/anarholiberalizam-je-ugrozio-brak-i.html</a>
file2405575	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/istospolni-partner-imat-ce-pravo-na-obiteljsku-mirovinu-625611">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/istospolni-partner-imat-ce-pravo-na-obiteljsku-mirovinu-625611</a>
file2879035	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Zeljka-Marki%260377c-planiram-se-i-dalje-aktivirati-u-ovoj-incijativi-906953">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Željka-Markiće-planiram-se-i-dalje-aktivirati-u-ovoj-incijativi-906953</a>
file2879015	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ustavni-sud-mora-vrlo-brzo-odluciti-o-referendumu-902279">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ustavni-sud-mora-vrlo-brzo-odluciti-o-referendumu-902279</a>
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file2405812	<a href="http://dalje.com/hr-hrvatska/Markić-nova-vlada-treba-povuci-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/545937">http://dalje.com/hr-hrvatska/Markić-nova-vlada-treba-povuci-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/545937</a>
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file2405704	<a href="http://www.intermagazin.rs/ko-je-zrtva-a-ko-agresor-u-ovom-ratu/">http://www.intermagazin.rs/ko-je-zrtva-a-ko-agresor-u-ovom-ratu/</a>
file2879066	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4927-ljudsko-itanje-ustava-ili-zato-se-mora-zaustaviti-referendum-o-braku-sp-582">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4927-ljudsko-itanje-ustava-ili-zato-se-mora-zaustaviti-referendum-o-braku-sp-582</a>
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file2879099	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/rados-ako-se-sud-sad-oglasi-to-ce-biti-sraz-sa-saborom-i-novi-problem-902099">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/rados-ako-se-sud-sad-oglasi-to-ce-biti-sraz-sa-saborom-i-novi-problem-902099</a>
file2878901	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4445-referendum-1-prosinca/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4445-referendum-1-prosinca/</a>
file2405799	<a href="https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istospolna_zajednica">https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istospolna_zajednica</a>
file2878881	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216021/1/HNS-glasao-protiv-raspisivanja-referenduma-i-razbjesnio-SDP">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216021/1/HNS-glasao-protiv-raspisivanja-referenduma-i-razbjesnio-SDP</a>
file2878868	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-o-imanju-okupljamo-ljude-razlicitog-imovinskog-stanja-905136">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-o-imanju-okupljamo-ljude-razlicitog-imovinskog-stanja-905136</a>
file2878792	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/milanovic-izaci-cu-na-referendum-i-glasat-cu-protiv-901198">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/milanovic-izaci-cu-na-referendum-i-glasat-cu-protiv-901198</a>
file2879120	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/bozanic-neka-svatko-s-ponosom-i-s-radoscu-zaokruzi-odgovor-za-904056">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/bozanic-neka-svatko-s-ponosom-i-s-radoscu-zaokruzi-odgovor-za-904056</a>
file2405785	<a href="http://queer.hr/33612/pratite-split-pride-uzivo-na-queer-hr-u-iz-minute-u-minutu/">http://queer.hr/33612/pratite-split-pride-uzivo-na-queer-hr-u-iz-minute-u-minutu/</a>
file2879019	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/stankovic-imate-dvorac-a-prozivate-me-zbog-place-Markiћ-to-je-ladanjska-kuca-913451">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/stankovic-imate-dvorac-a-prozivate-me-zbog-place-Markiћ-to-je-ladanjska-kuca-913451</a>
file2405818	<a href="http://www.ringeraja.hr/forum/m_64982/mpage_1/key_/tm.htm">http://www.ringeraja.hr/forum/m_64982/mpage_1/key_/tm.htm</a>
file2878821	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5052-graani-aktivirajte-se-i-zaustavite-homofobni-referendum-sp-938">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5052-graani-aktivirajte-se-i-zaustavite-homofobni-referendum-sp-938</a>

file2878810	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4837-vesela-tisua-zagrepana-priprema-se-za-13-povorku-ponosa-sp-235">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4837-vesela-tisua-zagrepana-priprema-se-za-13-povorku-ponosa-sp-235</a>
file2878885	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/civilizacijska-sramota-puzajuceg-hrvatskog-fasizma-doista-zivimo-u-tamnom-vilajetu/714379.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/civilizacijska-sramota-puzajuceg-hrvatskog-fasizma-doista-zivimo-u-tamnom-vilajetu/714379.aspx</a>
file2878891	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zastupnici-slozni-da-pitanje-referenduma-nije-dobro-regulirano-632454">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zastupnici-slozni-da-pitanje-referenduma-nije-dobro-regulirano-632454</a>
file2879001	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/lgbt-organizacije-u-saboru-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-901072">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/lgbt-organizacije-u-saboru-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-901072</a>
file2878698	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/prvo-brak-a-onda-zabrana-abortusa-i-medicinski-potpomognute-oplodnje-hrvatska-ce-otrcati-stoljecima-unatrag/713336.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/prvo-brak-a-onda-zabrana-abortusa-i-medicinski-potpomognute-oplodnje-hrvatska-ce-otrcati-stoljecima-unatrag/713336.aspx</a>
file2878984	<a href="http://referendumobroku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/17/hho-o-napadima-na-volontere-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobroku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/17/hho-o-napadima-na-volontere-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
file2878877	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3828-nikad-ne-bih-ni-spominjala-da-sam-lezbijka-da-se-ne-radi-o-drustvenom-problemu/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3828-nikad-ne-bih-ni-spominjala-da-sam-lezbijka-da-se-ne-radi-o-drustvenom-problemu/</a>
file2878851	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4954-ministarstvo-obrazovanja-u-sprezi-je-s-radikalno-liberalnim-udrugama-sp-780">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4954-ministarstvo-obrazovanja-u-sprezi-je-s-radikalno-liberalnim-udrugama-sp-780</a>
file2878824	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-o-luksuznoj-vili-okupljamo-ljude-razlicitih-statusa-904973">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-o-luksuznoj-vili-okupljamo-ljude-razlicitih-statusa-904973</a>
file2405769	<a href="http://www.dw.com/hr/brak-kao-zastarjeli-model/a-17210152">http://www.dw.com/hr/brak-kao-zastarjeli-model/a-17210152</a>
file2878801	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/kolumna/51/4073/Nasi-lopov-veci-od-mafije">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/kolumna/51/4073/Nasi-lopov-veci-od-mafije</a>
file2878688	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/referendum-o-braku-bit-ce-jasan-putokaz-i-za-one-koji-nisu-gej-569716">http://www.vecernji.hr/referendum-o-braku-bit-ce-jasan-putokaz-i-za-one-koji-nisu-gej-569716</a>
file2878826	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-zabranio-pristup-medijima-hnd-prijeti-bojkotom-906091">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-zabranio-pristup-medijima-hnd-prijeti-bojkotom-906091</a>
file2878789	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217995/1/Gusenje-demokratske-rasprave-je-dokaz-da-vlast-nema-argumenata">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217995/1/Gusenje-demokratske-rasprave-je-dokaz-da-vlast-nema-argumenata</a>
file2405810	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/ona-je-za-zabranu-pobacaja-i-mpo-MarkiĆ-zeli-nove-pobjede-343623">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/ona-je-za-zabranu-pobacaja-i-mpo-MarkiĆ-zeli-nove-pobjede-343623</a>

file2879075	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/predavanje-zeljke-Marki%C4%87-u-ep-dosli-poslusati-samo-hdz-ovci-342104">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/predavanje-zeljke-MarkiĆ-u-ep-dosli-poslusati-samo-hdz-ovci-342104</a>
file2405816	<a href="http://www.vijesti.rtl.hr/novosti/1248367/vi-akademice-reiner-hocete-biti-veci-katolik-od-pape/">http://www.vijesti.rtl.hr/novosti/1248367/vi-akademice-reiner-hocete-biti-veci-katolik-od-pape/</a>
file2879069	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sef-hrasta-ovo-je-pocetak-formalnih-promjena-u-drustvu-906435">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/sef-hrasta-ovo-je-pocetak-formalnih-promjena-u-drustvu-906435</a>
file2405615	<a href="http://narod.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-godisnjica-predaje-potpisa">http://narod.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-godisnjica-predaje-potpisa</a>
file2878839	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/11/financial-times-hrvati-zahtijevaju-referendum-za-onemogucavanje-istospolnih-brakova/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/11/financial-times-hrvati-zahtijevaju-referendum-za-onemogucavanje-istospolnih-brakova/</a>
file2405670	<a href="http://dalje.com/hr-zivot/zele-li-se-vjencati-gay-parovi-moraju-u-inozemstvo/297783">http://dalje.com/hr-zivot/zele-li-se-vjencati-gay-parovi-moraju-u-inozemstvo/297783</a>
file2879111	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/blagdani/na-bozic-cijela-se-obitelj-okuplja-da-zahvalimo-na-svim-blagoslovima-911824">http://www.vecernji.hr/blagdani/na-bozic-cijela-se-obitelj-okuplja-da-zahvalimo-na-svim-blagoslovima-911824</a>
file2879115	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-obitelji-ne-zele-da-ih-gong-nadzire-na-referendumu-gong-i-dalje-ne-znamo-ko-ih-financira/710549.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-obitelji-ne-zele-da-ih-gong-nadzire-na-referendumu-gong-i-dalje-ne-znamo-ko-ih-financira/710549.aspx</a>
file2878902	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/dalmacija/split-pride-uhicene-73-osobe-slijede-prijave-za-govor-mrznje-418335">http://www.vecernji.hr/dalmacija/split-pride-uhicene-73-osobe-slijede-prijave-za-govor-mrznje-418335</a>
file2405541	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/traze-referendum-brak-zene-i-muskarca-zele-stititi-ustavom-313653">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/traze-referendum-brak-zene-i-muskarca-zele-stititi-ustavom-313653</a>
file2878626	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4534-cist-racun-duga-ljubav-za-sve/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4534-cist-racun-duga-ljubav-za-sve/</a>
file2878876	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/10/17/iz-sabora-volja-gradana-mora-biti-ispostovana/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/10/17/iz-sabora-volja-gradana-mora-biti-ispostovana/</a>
file2405559	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/Zeljka-Marki%C4%87-nametanjem-svjetonazora-pokusava-se-preoblikovati-savjest-925518">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/Željka-MarkiĆ-nametanjem-svjetonazora-pokusava-se-preoblikovati-savjest-925518</a>
file2878713	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/reagirali-izvrnuli-su-izjavu-Marki%C4%87-zele-je-diskreditirati-341051">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/reagirali-izvrnuli-su-izjavu-MarkiĆ-zele-je-diskreditirati-341051</a>
file2879055	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4395-u-ime-obitelji-mora-otkriti-ko-ih-financira/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4395-u-ime-obitelji-mora-otkriti-ko-ih-financira/</a>
file2878981	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/10/18/kaznena-prijava-protiv-portala-crol-hr/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/10/18/kaznena-prijava-protiv-portala-crol-hr/</a>

file2878884	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4858-potpisi-idu-na-provjeru-sporan-novi-odlomak-o-neposrednoj-volji-naroda-sp-309">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4858-potpisi-idu-na-provjeru-sporan-novi-odlomak-o-neposrednoj-volji-naroda-sp-309</a>
file2878799	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/udruga-u-ime-obitelji-pokrenula-svoj-potal-narodhr-920734">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/udruga-u-ime-obitelji-pokrenula-svoj-potal-narodhr-920734</a>
file2405763	<a href="http://www.znet.hr/2013/10/gay-zajednice-bit-ce-tretirane-kao-obitelj-ali-nece-bitu-u-obiteljskom-zakonu/">http://www.znet.hr/2013/10/gay-zajednice-bit-ce-tretirane-kao-obitelj-ali-nece-bitu-u-obiteljskom-zakonu/</a>
file2878778	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/za-na-referendumu-ne-zatvara-mogucnost-posvajanja-djece-istospolnim-parovima-905634">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/za-na-referendumu-ne-zatvara-mogucnost-posvajanja-djece-istospolnim-parovima-905634</a>
file2878952	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zapisano-u-ustavu-odluka-s-referenduma-obvezujuca-560905">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zapisano-u-ustavu-odluka-s-referenduma-obvezujuca-560905</a>
file2405591	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/ljubav-seks/neobicne-forme-braka-postoji-na-odreeno-onaj-u-troje-428581">http://www.24sata.hr/ljubav-seks/neobicne-forme-braka-postoji-na-odreeno-onaj-u-troje-428581</a>
file2405742	<a href="http://slobodnadalmacija.hr/Novosti/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/267529/Default.aspx">http://slobodnadalmacija.hr/Novosti/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/267529/Default.aspx</a>
file2879010	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4805-djecu-i-obitelji-imamo-i-imat-emo-ih-bez-obzira-na-bilo-kakvo-zakonsko-i-ustavno-rjeenje-sp-130">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4805-djecu-i-obitelji-imamo-i-imat-emo-ih-bez-obzira-na-bilo-kakvo-zakonsko-i-ustavno-rjeenje-sp-130</a>
file2405821	<a href="http://narod.hr/svijet/makedonija-se-priprema-za-ustavnu-zastitu-braka">http://narod.hr/svijet/makedonija-se-priprema-za-ustavnu-zastitu-braka</a>
file2878684	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-gradani-se-mogu-ponositi-blagonic-to-je-put-za-totalitarizam-905346">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/Markić-gradani-se-mogu-ponositi-blagonic-to-je-put-za-totalitarizam-905346</a>
file2878759	<a href="http://www.index.hr/black/clanak/ispovijest-gay-studenta-u-hrvatskoj-ne-mozete-bitu-sigurni-da-vam-nece-doletjeti-saka-u-glavu-zbog-njeznog-poljupca/683602.aspx">http://www.index.hr/black/clanak/ispovijest-gay-studenta-u-hrvatskoj-ne-mozete-bitu-sigurni-da-vam-nece-doletjeti-saka-u-glavu-zbog-njeznog-poljupca/683602.aspx</a>
file2878983	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sabor-danas-o-raspisivanju-referenduma-901677">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sabor-danas-o-raspisivanju-referenduma-901677</a>
file2878970	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zbog-alfierove-izjave-u-ime-obitelji-trazi-ispriku-od-hrt-a-930172">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/zbog-alfierove-izjave-u-ime-obitelji-trazi-ispriku-od-hrt-a-930172</a>
file2878937	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-trazi-htv-ovu-ispriku-zbog-sprajcovih-izjava-560340">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-trazi-htv-ovu-ispriku-zbog-sprajcovih-izjava-560340</a>

file2878943	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/26/vise-od-pola-milijuna-potpisa-za-referendum/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/26/vise-od-pola-milijuna-potpisa-za-referendum/</a>
file2878647	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4787-koje-zemlje-zabranjuju-istospolne-brakove-ustavom-sp-821">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4787-koje-zemlje-zabranjuju-istospolne-brakove-ustavom-sp-821</a>
file2405628	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/eu-konvencija-brak-je-pravo-muskarca-i-zene-559232">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/eu-konvencija-brak-je-pravo-muskarca-i-zene-559232</a>
file2878736	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/pravobraniteljice-referendumsko-pitanje-protivno-je-ustavu-901093">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/pravobraniteljice-referendumsko-pitanje-protivno-je-ustavu-901093</a>
file2878947	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-cenzure-inicijativa-zeljke-Marki%C4%87-od-hrta-trazila-zabranu-emisije-o-homoseksualcima/713931.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-cenzure-inicijativa-zeljke-Marki%C4%87-od-hrta-trazila-zabranu-emisije-o-homoseksualcima/713931.aspx</a>
file2405768	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/%E2%80%A2eljka-Marki%C4%87-se-ljuti-jer-nije-dobila-ono-sto-je-doista-zeljela-343904">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/%E2%80%A2eljka-Marki%C4%87-se-ljuti-jer-nije-dobila-ono-sto-je-doista-zeljela-343904</a>
file2878752	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3754-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-stranka-hrast/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3754-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-stranka-hrast/</a>
file2405587	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/prikupljanje-potpisa-za-referendum-od-21-rujna-do-05listopada-957644">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/prikupljanje-potpisa-za-referendum-od-21-rujna-do-05listopada-957644</a>
file2879050	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/referendum-o-braku-u-cijeloj-zemlji-otvorena-su-biralista-343394">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/referendum-o-braku-u-cijeloj-zemlji-otvorena-su-biralista-343394</a>
file2878641	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/cak-i-oni-koji-su-protiv-gay-parovima-ne-bi-dali-da-posvajaju-djecu-905007">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/cak-i-oni-koji-su-protiv-gay-parovima-ne-bi-dali-da-posvajaju-djecu-905007</a>
file2878629	<a href="http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/224783/Default.aspx">http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/224783/Default.aspx</a>
file2879093	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/11/podrska-gradanskom-referendumu-podrska-je-demokraciji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/11/podrska-gradanskom-referendumu-podrska-je-demokraciji/</a>
file2878660	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/palcic-dolje-za-sve-potpisnike-referenduma-koji-nisu-dali-5-kn-564611">http://www.vecernji.hr/palcic-dolje-za-sve-potpisnike-referenduma-koji-nisu-dali-5-kn-564611</a>
file2878724	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hoce-li-potpise-provjeravati-i-od-vrata-do-vrata-582243">http://www.vecernji.hr/hoce-li-potpise-provjeravati-i-od-vrata-do-vrata-582243</a>
file2405579	<a href="http://www.express.hr/drustvo/dolce-gabbana-ocajnicki-se-zele-uklopiti-tamo-gdje-vec-pripadaju-374">http://www.express.hr/drustvo/dolce-gabbana-ocajnicki-se-zele-uklopiti-tamo-gdje-vec-pripadaju-374</a>

file2878976	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/referendum-o-braku-izgleda-kao-elementarna-nepogoda-341074">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/referendum-o-braku-izgleda-kao-elementarna-nepogoda-341074</a>
file2405743	<a href="http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/85022/odgovor-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji-sdp-zbog-referenduma-o-braku-zeli-mijenjati-ustav/1">http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/85022/odgovor-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji-sdp-zbog-referenduma-o-braku-zeli-mijenjati-ustav/1</a>
file2878841	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/Markić-sociolozima-utjecaj-na-djecu-gay-parova-nije-istrazen-343399">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/Markić-sociolozima-utjecaj-na-djecu-gay-parova-nije-istrazen-343399</a>
file2879107	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/sociolozi-Markić-selektivno-pokusava-koristiti-istrazivanja-343970">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/sociolozi-Markić-selektivno-pokusava-koristiti-istrazivanja-343970</a>
file2878842	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/baldasarglasajteprotivtojevasademokratskaobaveza-343259">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/baldasarglasajteprotivtojevasademokratskaobaveza-343259</a>
file2878657	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/fasizam-se-razbuktava-portal-dnevno-nakon-srba-i-gayeva-krenuo-i-na-zidove/715161.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/fasizam-se-razbuktava-portal-dnevno-nakon-srba-i-gayeva-krenuo-i-na-zidove/715161.aspx</a>
file2878882	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/i-mihalic-zabrana-gay-brakakorak-je-unatrag-904995">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/i-mihalic-zabrana-gay-brakakorak-je-unatrag-904995</a>
file2405556	<a href="http://www.bitno.net/vijesti/slovacka-desnica-ljevica-ujedinjene-uzastiti-braka-kao-zajednice-muskarca-zene/">http://www.bitno.net/vijesti/slovacka-desnica-ljevica-ujedinjene-uzastiti-braka-kao-zajednice-muskarca-zene/</a>
file2878661	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/teska-manipulacija-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-netransparentna-i-homofobna-stranka-hrast/677958.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/teska-manipulacija-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-netransparentna-i-homofobna-stranka-hrast/677958.aspx</a>
file2405738	<a href="http://www.feral.com.hr/brkic-na-fejsu-lagala-je-o-zlocinima-u-olui-Markić-on-siri-lazi-namjerno/">http://www.feral.com.hr/brkic-na-fejsu-lagala-je-o-zlocinima-u-olui-Markić-on-siri-lazi-namjerno/</a>
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file2405690	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/04/29/obitelj-stabilan-prijenos-vrijednosti/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/04/29/obitelj-stabilan-prijenos-vrijednosti/</a>
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file2405542	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/ude-li-brak-u-ustav-moci-ce-se-promijeniti-samo-novim-referendumom-905213">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/ude-li-brak-u-ustav-moci-ce-se-promijeniti-samo-novim-referendumom-905213</a>
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file2879098	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/215878/1/Gradjani-ipak-na-referendumu-odlucuju-o-promjeni-Ustava">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/215878/1/Gradjani-ipak-na-referendumu-odlucuju-o-promjeni-Ustava</a>
file2878999	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/leko-primio-potpise-u-saboru-ne-dajemo-vrijednosne-sudove-569374">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/leko-primio-potpise-u-saboru-ne-dajemo-vrijednosne-sudove-569374</a>
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file2878772	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4861-popis-stanovnitva-samo-140-istospolnih-parova-u-rh-sp-411">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4861-popis-stanovnitva-samo-140-istospolnih-parova-u-rh-sp-411</a>
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file2405582	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/21/dr-Zeljka-Marki%C4%87-ljudi-su-spremni-zastiti-svoje-vrijednosti-na-demokratskinacin/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/21/dr-Zeljka-Marki%C4%87-ljudi-su-spremni-zastiti-svoje-vrijednosti-na-demokratskinacin/</a>
file2878627	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/17/zadrzimo-svoje-pravo-na-referendum/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/17/zadrzimo-svoje-pravo-na-referendum/</a>
file2405834	<a href="http://dubrovackidnevnik.rtl.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-inicijativa-srd-je-nas-davala-savjete-zeljki-Marki%C4%87">http://dubrovackidnevnik.rtl.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-inicijativa-srd-je-nas-davala-savjete-zeljki-Marki%C4%87</a>

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file2405838	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/stize-Željka-MarkiĆ-krenimo-odmah-s-gradnjom-noine-arke-342756">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/stize-Željka-MarkiĆ-krenimo-odmah-s-gradnjom-noine-arke-342756</a>
file2405537	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4327-sto-donosi-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4327-sto-donosi-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/</a>
file2405606	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218717/1/Markić-protiv-instituta-zivotnog-partnerstva-Vlada-salje-zakon-u-Sabor">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218717/1/Markić-protiv-instituta-zivotnog-partnerstva-Vlada-salje-zakon-u-Sabor</a>
file2878683	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/mladez-hdz-a-nadjite-pocinitelje-gnjusnog-cina-na-cvjetnom-553992">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/mladez-hdz-a-nadjite-pocinitelje-gnjusnog-cina-na-cvjetnom-553992</a>
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file2878853	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/04/ustavni-sud-poslao-obiteljski-zakon-ministrice-opacic-na-popravni/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/04/ustavni-sud-poslao-obiteljski-zakon-ministrice-opacic-na-popravni/</a>
file2878618	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/jedino-ti-znas-ko-je-tvoja-obitelj-glasaj-protiv-nepravde-manipulacije-i-diskriminacije/712387.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/jedino-ti-znas-ko-je-tvoja-obitelj-glasaj-protiv-nepravde-manipulacije-i-diskriminacije/712387.aspx</a>
file2878691	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/06/izrugivanje-s-homoseksualcima-neplodnim-parovima-u-reziji-platforme-112/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/06/izrugivanje-s-homoseksualcima-neplodnim-parovima-u-reziji-platforme-112/</a>
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file2878669	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/ni-jedna-buduca-vlada-nece-moci-legalizirati-istospolne-brakove-906268">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/ni-jedna-buduca-vlada-nece-moci-legalizirati-istospolne-brakove-906268</a>
file2405564	<a href="http://www.obitelj-malih-marija.com/hrvati-ustavom-zastitili-definiciju-braka/">http://www.obitelj-malih-marija.com/hrvati-ustavom-zastitili-definiciju-braka/</a>
file2878758	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/udruga-roda--zabrinjavajuće-je-ono-sto-bi-nam-inicijativa-u-ime-obitelji-mogla-dalje-prirediti/714329.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/udruga-roda--zabrinjavajuće-je-ono-sto-bi-nam-inicijativa-u-ime-obitelji-mogla-dalje-prirediti/714329.aspx</a>



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file2405826	<a href="http://www.zupa-blivanapavla2.hr/2014/10/u-nazoj-zupi-dr-Željka-Markiće-4-studenoga-2014-drži-predavanje-obitelj-danas/">http://www.zupa-blivanapavla2.hr/2014/10/u-nazoj-zupi-dr-Željka-Markiće-4-studenoga-2014-drži-predavanje-obitelj-danas/</a>
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file2879085	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/19/sto-se-uistinu-dogodilo-u-petak-17-5-2013-na-preradovicevu-trgu-u-zagrebu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/19/sto-se-uistinu-dogodilo-u-petak-17-5-2013-na-preradovicevu-trgu-u-zagrebu/</a>
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file2879011	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ja-sam-protiv-diskriminacije-bilo-koga-901396">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ja-sam-protiv-diskriminacije-bilo-koga-901396</a>
file2405740	<a href="http://znanost.geek.hr/clanak/djeca-koju-odgajaju-gay-parovi-uspjesna-su-u-skoli/">http://znanost.geek.hr/clanak/djeca-koju-odgajaju-gay-parovi-uspjesna-su-u-skoli/</a>
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file2878791	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/apel-11-profesora-radi-sprecavanja-ustavne-krize-567551">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/apel-11-profesora-radi-sprecavanja-ustavne-krize-567551</a>
file2878972	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-pokrenula-sudski-postupak-protiv-stazica-zbog-govora-mrznje-904529">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-pokrenula-sudski-postupak-protiv-stazica-zbog-govora-mrznje-904529</a>
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file2879060	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/10/dosta-medijskog-jednoulja/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/10/dosta-medijskog-jednoulja/</a>
file2878650	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-nikad-nismo-neovlasteno-koristili-autorska-prava-benda-the-xx-912750">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-nikad-nismo-neovlasteno-koristili-autorska-prava-benda-the-xx-912750</a>

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file2879017	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199575/1/Slavonci-iskoristite-gradjansko-pravo--i-pridonesite-zastiti-braka-i-obitelji">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199575/1/Slavonci-iskoristite-gradjansko-pravo--i-pridonesite-zastiti-braka-i-obitelji</a>
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file2878864	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3889-sutra-koracamo-u-ime-svih-obitelji/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3889-sutra-koracamo-u-ime-svih-obitelji/</a>
file2878704	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/pedja-grbin-nije-u-pravu-odluka-na-referendumu-je-obvezujuca-634381">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/pedja-grbin-nije-u-pravu-odluka-na-referendumu-je-obvezujuca-634381</a>
file2405552	<a href="http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/referendum-o-braku-evo-sto-svjetski-mediji-kazu-o-rezultatima-referenduma---313529.html">http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/referendum-o-braku-evo-sto-svjetski-mediji-kazu-o-rezultatima-referenduma---313529.html</a>
file2405655	<a href="http://tris.com.hr/2014/10/Željka-Markiće-jos-uvijek-brojimo-potpise/">http://tris.com.hr/2014/10/Željka-Markiće-jos-uvijek-brojimo-potpise/</a>
file2878945	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/06/referendumske-brojke-zanimljivosti/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/06/referendumske-brojke-zanimljivosti/</a>
file2405754	<a href="http://www.bitno.net/vijesti/katolicka-agencija-za-posvajanje-kojanje-zeli-davati-djecu-gay-parovima-ipak-nastavlja-s-radom/">http://www.bitno.net/vijesti/katolicka-agencija-za-posvajanje-kojanje-zeli-davati-djecu-gay-parovima-ipak-nastavlja-s-radom/</a>
file2405734	<a href="http://narod.hr/glas-naroda/cije-je-djetesce-udruga-u-ime-obitelji-Željka-Markiće">http://narod.hr/glas-naroda/cije-je-djetesce-udruga-u-ime-obitelji-Željka-Markiće</a>
file2878668	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/prikupljeno-vise-od-710000-potpisa-podaci-jos-nisu-potpuni-561225">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/prikupljeno-vise-od-710000-potpisa-podaci-jos-nisu-potpuni-561225</a>
file2878715	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/news/matematicar-je-protiv-jedan-i-jedan-bas-uvijek-daju-zboj-dva-342363">http://www.24sata.hr/news/matematicar-je-protiv-jedan-i-jedan-bas-uvijek-daju-zboj-dva-342363</a>
file2878963	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/hrast-nismo-jedini-koji-podrzavaju-u-ime-obitelji-904946">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/hrast-nismo-jedini-koji-podrzavaju-u-ime-obitelji-904946</a>

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file2878977	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/objavljen-primjer-listica-za-referendum-112-901928">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/objavljen-primjer-listica-za-referendum-112-901928</a>
file2405664	<a href="http://uimeobitelji.net/svicarska-ide-na-referendum-o-ustavnoj-zastiti-braka-kao-trajne-zajednice-zene-i-muskarca/">http://uimeobitelji.net/svicarska-ide-na-referendum-o-ustavnoj-zastiti-braka-kao-trajne-zajednice-zene-i-muskarca/</a>
file2878726	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/skupili-1383-potpisa-za-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-901305">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/skupili-1383-potpisa-za-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-901305</a>
file2878762	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/04/16/ministar-ostojic-homoseksualne-udruge-smiju-siriti-netrpeljivost-zastrasivati/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/04/16/ministar-ostojic-homoseksualne-udruge-smiju-siriti-netrpeljivost-zastrasivati/</a>
file2878857	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/200075/1/Na-izborima-u-Osijeku-birase--izmedju-hrvatske-i-jugo-opcije">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/200075/1/Na-izborima-u-Osijeku-birase--izmedju-hrvatske-i-jugo-opcije</a>
file2405770	<a href="http://republika.eu/novost/15675/nije-brak-nego-je-zivotno-partnerstvo-hdz-kalkulira-a-hdssb-izricito-protiv">http://republika.eu/novost/15675/nije-brak-nego-je-zivotno-partnerstvo-hdz-kalkulira-a-hdssb-izricito-protiv</a>
file2878613	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4973-na-hrt-u-podlegli-pristicima-iz-u-ime-obitelji/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4973-na-hrt-u-podlegli-pristicima-iz-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
file2405719	<a href="http://www.in-portal.hr/in-portal-news/vijesti/837/u-ime-obitelji-prikupila-dovoljan-broj-potpisa-za-referendum-protiv-gay-brakova">http://www.in-portal.hr/in-portal-news/vijesti/837/u-ime-obitelji-prikupila-dovoljan-broj-potpisa-za-referendum-protiv-gay-brakova</a>
file2405566	<a href="http://hu-benedikt.hr/?p=40991">http://hu-benedikt.hr/?p=40991</a>
file2878770	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216635/1/Ustavni-sud-odlucio-Na-referendum-se-izlazi-1-prosinca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216635/1/Ustavni-sud-odlucio-Na-referendum-se-izlazi-1-prosinca</a>
file2405611	<a href="http://queer.hr/37106/gradani-glasaju-protiv/">http://queer.hr/37106/gradani-glasaju-protiv/</a>
file2878830	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/15/mostar-tribina-o-referendumu-drustvenom-zagovaranju/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/02/15/mostar-tribina-o-referendumu-drustvenom-zagovaranju/</a>
file2878658	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4831-strani-mediji-neposredno-prije-ulaska-u-eu-u-hrvatskoj-raste-konzervativizam-sp-181">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4831-strani-mediji-neposredno-prije-ulaska-u-eu-u-hrvatskoj-raste-konzervativizam-sp-181</a>
file2878971	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/03/un-pljesak-za-inicijativu-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/03/un-pljesak-za-inicijativu-u-ime-obitelji/</a>

file2879109	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/trazimo-od-vlade-da-zaustavi-referendum-i-zastiti-nasa-prava-559994">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/trazimo-od-vlade-da-zaustavi-referendum-i-zastiti-nasa-prava-559994</a>
file2405663	<a href="http://www.sibenik.in/hrvatska/evo-zbog-cega-trebate-reci-ne-novom-referendumu-zeljke-MarkiĆ/28292.html">http://www.sibenik.in/hrvatska/evo-zbog-cega-trebate-reci-ne-novom-referendumu-zeljke-MarkiĆ/28292.html</a>
file2405855	<a href="http://www.ipazin.net/?p=26367">http://www.ipazin.net/?p=26367</a>
file2405744	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/scitech/znanost/301775/Iza-referenduma-stoje-Opus-Dei-i-talibanski-duh.html">http://www.tportal.hr/scitech/znanost/301775/Iza-referenduma-stoje-Opus-Dei-i-talibanski-duh.html</a>
file2879105	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-trazi-ispriku-reutersa-zbog-izmisljenog-navoda-906423">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/u-ime-obitelji-trazi-ispriku-reutersa-zbog-izmisljenog-navoda-906423</a>
file2879124	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/graani-glasaju-protiv-obitelj-nije-mama-tata-i-bioloska-djeca-341908">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/graani-glasaju-protiv-obitelj-nije-mama-tata-i-bioloska-djeca-341908</a>
file2878747	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/dvornik-mikulic-skaricic-i-curkovic-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-902188">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/dvornik-mikulic-skaricic-i-curkovic-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referendumskog-pitanja-902188</a>
file2878681	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4523-u-gradjansku-inicijativu-zakamufilirana-stranka-jos-opasnijih-namjera/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4523-u-gradjansku-inicijativu-zakamufilirana-stranka-jos-opasnijih-namjera/</a>
file2879057	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/kampanju-u-ime-obitelji-osudili-i-nazvali-anticivilizacijskom-554447">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/kampanju-u-ime-obitelji-osudili-i-nazvali-anticivilizacijskom-554447</a>
file2878987	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/leteci-reporter/sociologinja-oni-koji-zive-u-braku-zive-duze-i-zdravije-565204">http://www.vecernji.hr/leteci-reporter/sociologinja-oni-koji-zive-u-braku-zive-duze-i-zdravije-565204</a>
file2878957	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/25/u-ime-obitelji-jutarnji-list-sva-druga-izdanja-eph-grupe-kao-glasnogovornici-aktualne-vlasti/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/25/u-ime-obitelji-jutarnji-list-sva-druga-izdanja-eph-grupe-kao-glasnogovornici-aktualne-vlasti/</a>
file2878725	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/201505/1/SDP-ne-moze-osigurati-vecinu-za-izmjenu-Ustava">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/201505/1/SDP-ne-moze-osigurati-vecinu-za-izmjenu-Ustava</a>
file2878961	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4879-a-koji-lobi-stoji-iza-inicijative-qu-ime-obiteljiq-sp-352">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4879-a-koji-lobi-stoji-iza-inicijative-qu-ime-obiteljiq-sp-352</a>
file2878634	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/255427/1/Ustavni-sud-Za-referendum-nije-predano-dovoljno-potpisa">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/255427/1/Ustavni-sud-Za-referendum-nije-predano-dovoljno-potpisa</a>
file2878931	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-obitelji-logo-ukrali-od-jfsla-koja-suradjuje-s-gay-udrugama-blokiraju-one-koji-ih-traze-objasnjenje/679629.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-obitelji-logo-ukrali-od-jfsla-koja-suradjuje-s-gay-udrugama-blokiraju-one-koji-ih-traze-objasnjenje/679629.aspx</a>

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file2878760	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/trazimo-nadzor-programa-hrt-a-tijekom-provedbe-referenduma-903807">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/trazimo-nadzor-programa-hrt-a-tijekom-provedbe-referenduma-903807</a>
file2878926	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/karamarko-na-referendumu-o-braku-zaokruzujem-da-901557">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/karamarko-na-referendumu-o-braku-zaokruzujem-da-901557</a>
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file2878940	<a href="http://referendumbraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/20/biraci-porucuju-inicijativi-budite-jaki-svi-smo-uz-vas-2/">http://referendumbraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/20/biraci-porucuju-inicijativi-budite-jaki-svi-smo-uz-vas-2/</a>
file2878750	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/strani-mediji-referendum-je-podijelio-najnoviju-clanicu-eu-343509">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/strani-mediji-referendum-je-podijelio-najnoviju-clanicu-eu-343509</a>
file2878748	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlada-referendumom-protiv-referenduma-o-braku-611113">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlada-referendumom-protiv-referenduma-o-braku-611113</a>
file2405715	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/politika/Markić-u-meugorju-mora-se-raspisati-referendum-o-obitelji-326578">http://www.24sata.hr/politika/Markić-u-meugorju-mora-se-raspisati-referendum-o-obitelji-326578</a>
file2405782	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/263147/Da-zaista-brinete-ne-bi-danas-imali-toliko-djece-bez-obitelji.html">http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/263147/Da-zaista-brinete-ne-bi-danas-imali-toliko-djece-bez-obitelji.html</a>
file2878638	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/249260/1/Promjenu-izbornog-sustava-trazi-vise-od-368000-biraca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/249260/1/Promjenu-izbornog-sustava-trazi-vise-od-368000-biraca</a>
file2878866	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216224/1/Lauc-Sabor-je-trebao-traziti-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referenduma-o-braku">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216224/1/Lauc-Sabor-je-trebao-traziti-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referenduma-o-braku</a>
file2405716	<a href="http://dalje.com/hr-hrvatska/josipovic-istrazivanje-o-ustavu-narucio-posebno-i-platio-45312-kuna/526856">http://dalje.com/hr-hrvatska/josipovic-istrazivanje-o-ustavu-narucio-posebno-i-platio-45312-kuna/526856</a>
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file2879068	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/bloomberg-referendum-bi-mogao-ugroziti-hrvatski-turizam-906315">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/bloomberg-referendum-bi-mogao-ugroziti-hrvatski-turizam-906315</a>
file2878871	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/leko-ustavni-sud-trebao-bi-ocijeniti-referendumsko-pitanje-901143">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/leko-ustavni-sud-trebao-bi-ocijeniti-referendumsko-pitanje-901143</a>

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file2879102	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/Markić-odluka-ustavnog-suda-dokazuje-da-radimo-po-zakonu-902905">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/Markić-odluka-ustavnog-suda-dokazuje-da-radimo-po-zakonu-902905</a>
file2878911	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4833-rode-za-svoju-djecu-elimu-drutvo-koje-ih-prihvaa-u-njihovim-razliitostima-sp-501">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4833-rode-za-svoju-djecu-elimu-drutvo-koje-ih-prihvaa-u-njihovim-razliitostima-sp-501</a>
file2878944	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/10/zahtjev-za-ispriku-tportala/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/10/zahtjev-za-ispriku-tportala/</a>
file2878918	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/08/18/5761/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/08/18/5761/</a>
file2879121	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3782-kako-je-miletic-znao-za-odluku-ustavnog-suda/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/3782-kako-je-miletic-znao-za-odluku-ustavnog-suda/</a>
file2878953	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-snazno-je-sakom-udario-volonterku-i-pobjegao-556609">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-snazno-je-sakom-udario-volonterku-i-pobjegao-556609</a>
file2405529	<a href="http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/predat-zahjev-saboru-za-referendum-o-braku">http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/predat-zahjev-saboru-za-referendum-o-braku</a>
file2405755	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/337738/Željka-Markić-trazi-novi-referendum.html">http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/337738/Željka-Markić-trazi-novi-referendum.html</a>
file2878923	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/news/inicijativa-graani-glasaju-protiv-prikupila-300000-kuna-342749">http://www.24sata.hr/news/inicijativa-graani-glasaju-protiv-prikupila-300000-kuna-342749</a>
file2405814	<a href="http://www.braniteljski-portal.hr/Novosti/DRUSTVO/Inicijativa-U-ime-obitelji-predala-Saboru-749.316-potpisa-hrvatskih-gradana-i-zahtjev-za-referendum">http://www.braniteljski-portal.hr/Novosti/DRUSTVO/Inicijativa-U-ime-obitelji-predala-Saboru-749.316-potpisa-hrvatskih-gradana-i-zahtjev-za-referendum</a>
file2879091	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5031-grbin-pozvat-u-sve-graane-da-na-referendumu-glasaju-protiv-sp-388">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5031-grbin-pozvat-u-sve-graane-da-na-referendumu-glasaju-protiv-sp-388</a>
file2878892	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216120/1/Ustavni-sud-odlucuje-o-referendumu-o-braku">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216120/1/Ustavni-sud-odlucuje-o-referendumu-o-braku</a>
file2879052	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/procelnica-o-vili-zeljke-Markić-rekonstrukcija-je-bila-nezakonita-905184">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/procelnica-o-vili-zeljke-Markić-rekonstrukcija-je-bila-nezakonita-905184</a>
file2878812	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/09/11/pismo-predsjedniku-republike-hrvatske-3/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/09/11/pismo-predsjedniku-republike-hrvatske-3/</a>

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file2878994	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/g-kraus-smatrate-li-da-su-hrvatski-gradani-ustasoidni-905117">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/g-kraus-smatrate-li-da-su-hrvatski-gradani-ustasoidni-905117</a>
file2878965	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/214999/1/Stizu-i-nova-pravila-za-raspisivanje-referenduma">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/214999/1/Stizu-i-nova-pravila-za-raspisivanje-referenduma</a>
file2878960	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/lgtb-udruge-s-ljudskim-pravima-ne-smiju-se-raditi-kompromisi-554089">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/lgtb-udruge-s-ljudskim-pravima-ne-smiju-se-raditi-kompromisi-554089</a>
file2405798	<a href="http://www.nsz.hr/novosti-i-obavijesti/iz-medija/hrt-otvoreno-16-9-2014/">http://www.nsz.hr/novosti-i-obavijesti/iz-medija/hrt-otvoreno-16-9-2014/</a>
file2405778	<a href="http://hu-benedikt.hr/?p=31685">http://hu-benedikt.hr/?p=31685</a>
file2405794	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/svijet/301229/Evo-kako-Europa-stoji-s-gay-brakovima.html">http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/svijet/301229/Evo-kako-Europa-stoji-s-gay-brakovima.html</a>
file2878948	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4441-transfobni-ispad-Željka-joksimovica/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/4441-transfobni-ispad-Željka-joksimovica/</a>
file2405824	<a href="http://www.hazud.ch/tag/ustav/">http://www.hazud.ch/tag/ustav/</a>
file2405721	<a href="http://dubrovacki.hr/clanak/52569/arsen-bauk-gay-parovi-sklapat-ce-partnerstvo-pred-maticarem-ili-bilježnikom">http://dubrovacki.hr/clanak/52569/arsen-bauk-gay-parovi-sklapat-ce-partnerstvo-pred-maticarem-ili-bilježnikom</a>
file2878619	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlada-prikupljeno-dovoljno-potpisa-za-referendum-o-braku-612184">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/vlada-prikupljeno-dovoljno-potpisa-za-referendum-o-braku-612184</a>
file2878678	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4972-ustavnom-odredbom-bi-se-ograniilo-samo-pravo-na-rije-brak-a-referendum-bi-nas-sve-previe-kotao-sp-163">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4972-ustavnom-odredbom-bi-se-ograniilo-samo-pravo-na-rije-brak-a-referendum-bi-nas-sve-previe-kotao-sp-163</a>
file2879081	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/04/04/financiran-novcem-gradana-queer-zagreb-opet-siri-mrznju-nesnosljivost/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/04/04/financiran-novcem-gradana-queer-zagreb-opet-siri-mrznju-nesnosljivost/</a>
file2879101	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/200272/1/Uz-potporu-Ustavnog-suda-i-Josipovica-do-referenduma">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/200272/1/Uz-potporu-Ustavnog-suda-i-Josipovica-do-referenduma</a>
file2878740	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/21/napadi-na-internetske-stranice-gradanske-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/21/napadi-na-internetske-stranice-gradanske-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
file2878993	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4994-bauk-referendum-o-braku-je-besmislen-i-nee-utjecati-na-zakon-o-ivotnom-partnerstvu-sp-819">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4994-bauk-referendum-o-braku-je-besmislen-i-nee-utjecati-na-zakon-o-ivotnom-partnerstvu-sp-819</a>

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file2405854	<a href="http://www.forum.tm/vijesti/Markić-laze-i-manipulira-1195">http://www.forum.tm/vijesti/Markić-laze-i-manipulira-1195</a>
file2878845	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/grbin-sporno-je-ako-je-udruga-u-ime-obitelji-mijenjala-pitanje-581392">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/grbin-sporno-je-ako-je-udruga-u-ime-obitelji-mijenjala-pitanje-581392</a>
file2878771	<a href="http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/inicijativa-zatalasala-medijske-vode">http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/inicijativa-zatalasala-medijske-vode</a>
file2879074	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/dalmacija/splitski-rispet-prva-lgbt-udruga-doslo-je-vrijeme-da-se-okurazimo-518919">http://www.vecernji.hr/dalmacija/splitski-rispet-prva-lgbt-udruga-doslo-je-vrijeme-da-se-okurazimo-518919</a>
file2879131	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5020-rasprava-o-referendumu-sutra-u-saboru-ustavni-sud-nee-preispitivati-pitanje-sp-915">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5020-rasprava-o-referendumu-sutra-u-saboru-ustavni-sud-nee-preispitivati-pitanje-sp-915</a>
file2878775	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/03/volio-bih-da-dalje-doprinosimo-istinskim-vrijednostima-lijepo-nase-volonter-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/03/volio-bih-da-dalje-doprinosimo-istinskim-vrijednostima-lijepo-nase-volonter-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
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file2878710	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217871/1/Dvije-strane-objavile-podatke-o-financiranju-kampanje-za-referendum">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217871/1/Dvije-strane-objavile-podatke-o-financiranju-kampanje-za-referendum</a>
file2405549	<a href="http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?t=825783">http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?t=825783</a>
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file2879064	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-saboru-cemo-predati-vise-od-710000-potpisa-565394">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/u-ime-obitelji-saboru-cemo-predati-vise-od-710000-potpisa-565394</a>
file2879041	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/19/u-ime-obitelji-ustavna-zastita-braka-kao-zajednice-zene-muskarca/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/19/u-ime-obitelji-ustavna-zastita-braka-kao-zajednice-zene-muskarca/</a>
file2405709	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/uspjesna-ste-poslovna-zena-ako-referendum-ne-prode-vratite-48-mil-kn-drzavi-904967">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/uspjesna-ste-poslovna-zena-ako-referendum-ne-prode-vratite-48-mil-kn-drzavi-904967</a>



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file2878769	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/referendumska-odluka-gradjana-je-obvezatna-633091">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/referendumska-odluka-gradjana-je-obvezatna-633091</a>
file2878633	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/09/02/vijece-za-elektronicke-medije-nema-elemenata-za-krsenje-zakona-o-elektronickim-medijima/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/09/02/vijece-za-elektronicke-medije-nema-elemenata-za-krsenje-zakona-o-elektronickim-medijima/</a>
file2878990	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moguca-je-i-saborska-deklaracija-o-braku-569628">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/moguca-je-i-saborska-deklaracija-o-braku-569628</a>
file2405843	<a href="http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/1424350/rtl-otkriva-u-ustavu-i-dalje-ne-pise-da-je-brak-zajednica-muskarca-i-zene/">http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/1424350/rtl-otkriva-u-ustavu-i-dalje-ne-pise-da-je-brak-zajednica-muskarca-i-zene/</a>
file2878711	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/vise-od-6000-clanova-u-ime-obitelji-promatrat-ce-referendum-905984">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/vise-od-6000-clanova-u-ime-obitelji-promatrat-ce-referendum-905984</a>
file2878896	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/stranka-za-grad-izadite-na-referendum-i-glasajte-protiv-905504">http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/stranka-za-grad-izadite-na-referendum-i-glasajte-protiv-905504</a>
file2878932	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/16/rezultati-ankete-provede-medu-politickim-strankama/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/16/rezultati-ankete-provede-medu-politickim-strankama/</a>
file2878716	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/kontra-i-druge-udruge-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referenduma-o-braku-900617">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/kontra-i-druge-udruge-traze-ocjenu-ustavnosti-referenduma-o-braku-900617</a>
file2405630	<a href="http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/264280/Brak-je-ono-sto-kaze-zakon-a-ne-Ustav.html">http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/264280/Brak-je-ono-sto-kaze-zakon-a-ne-Ustav.html</a>
file2405607	<a href="http://televizijastudent.com/otkrijte-sto-se-krije-iza-gradanske-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-2415/">http://televizijastudent.com/otkrijte-sto-se-krije-iza-gradanske-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-2415/</a>
file2405756	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-svake-obitelji-trazimo-ispriku-jer-Zeljka-Markic-siri-lazi/683627.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-ime-svake-obitelji-trazimo-ispriku-jer-Zeljka-Markic-siri-lazi/683627.aspx</a>
file2405684	<a href="http://queer.hr/44504/vrhovni-sud-istospolni-brakovi-su-legalni-u-svim-drzavama-sad-a/">http://queer.hr/44504/vrhovni-sud-istospolni-brakovi-su-legalni-u-svim-drzavama-sad-a/</a>

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file2878946	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/04/24/brak-je-temelj-zdravog-suvremenog-drustva/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/04/24/brak-je-temelj-zdravog-suvremenog-drustva/</a>
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file2879018	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199698/1/Akcijom-U-ime-obitelji-pokriveno-80-posto-osjeckog-Sveucilista">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199698/1/Akcijom-U-ime-obitelji-pokriveno-80-posto-osjeckog-Sveucilista</a>
file2878671	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/slavonija/mons-huzjak-akcija-u-ime-obitelji-je-za-a-ne-protiv-555912">http://www.vecernji.hr/slavonija/mons-huzjak-akcija-u-ime-obitelji-je-za-a-ne-protiv-555912</a>
file2878809	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/14/u-ime-obitelji-vlada-i-udruge-vrse-pritisak-na-ustavni-sud/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/14/u-ime-obitelji-vlada-i-udruge-vrse-pritisak-na-ustavni-sud/</a>
file2878663	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/izjednaciti-brak-i-istospolnu-zajednicu-pravno-je-i-zivotno-neprihvatljivo-916994">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/izjednaciti-brak-i-istospolnu-zajednicu-pravno-je-i-zivotno-neprihvatljivo-916994</a>
file2879014	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/04/izjednacavanj-e-homoseksualne-veze-s-brakom-nije-temeljno-ljudsko-pravo-2/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/04/izjednacavanj-e-homoseksualne-veze-s-brakom-nije-temeljno-ljudsko-pravo-2/</a>
file2879086	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217454/11/Zestoki-sukobi-i-preteske-rijeci">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217454/11/Zestoki-sukobi-i-preteske-rijeci</a>
file2879129	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/31/nametanje-ideologije-na-razini-europske-unije/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/01/31/nametanje-ideologije-na-razini-europske-unije/</a>
file2879128	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/15/protivno-volji-gradana-izglasao-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/07/15/protivno-volji-gradana-izglasao-zakon-o-zivotnom-partnerstvu/</a>
file2878899	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/20/u-ime-obitelji-gdje-je-nestala-demokracija/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/20/u-ime-obitelji-gdje-je-nestala-demokracija/</a>
file2878816	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/prvi-obiteljski-dan-u-vinkovcima-906078">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/prvi-obiteljski-dan-u-vinkovcima-906078</a>
file2878813	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4899-sporna-procedura-prikupljanja-potpisa-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-sp-871">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/4899-sporna-procedura-prikupljanja-potpisa-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-sp-871</a>
file2405746	<a href="http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/110998/zagreb-pride-trazimo-zivotno-partnerstvo-i-pravo-na-posvajanje-djece-za-sve-/11">http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/110998/zagreb-pride-trazimo-zivotno-partnerstvo-i-pravo-na-posvajanje-djece-za-sve-/11</a>
file2405774	<a href="http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/1013883/Zeljka-Markic-srusila-ustavne-promjene/">http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/1013883/Zeljka-Markic-srusila-ustavne-promjene/</a>

file2878889	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/29/u-ime-obitelji-ostanimo-dostojanstveni-nemojmo-odgovarati-na-provokacije/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/29/u-ime-obitelji-ostanimo-dostojanstveni-nemojmo-odgovarati-na-provokacije/</a>
file2878754	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5011-lgbt-udruge-u-ime-obitelji-zbog-panike-prijeti-neutemeljenim-tubama-sp-754">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5011-lgbt-udruge-u-ime-obitelji-zbog-panike-prijeti-neutemeljenim-tubama-sp-754</a>
file2878768	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/201908/1/Inicijativa-U-ime-obitelji-predala-potpise">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/201908/1/Inicijativa-U-ime-obitelji-predala-potpise</a>
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file2879110	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sarnavka-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-netko-jako-mocan-555138">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/sarnavka-iza-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-stoji-netko-jako-mocan-555138</a>
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file2878968	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/volonteri-papi-franji-darovali-majicu-u-ime-obitelji-905476">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/volonteri-papi-franji-darovali-majicu-u-ime-obitelji-905476</a>
file2878995	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/zanimljivosti/u-ime-obitelji-susreli-smo-se-s-papom-i-upoznali-ga-s-planom-343045">http://www.24sata.hr/zanimljivosti/u-ime-obitelji-susreli-smo-se-s-papom-i-upoznali-ga-s-planom-343045</a>
file2878820	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/potpisi-valjani-referendum-za-brak-moze-se-raspisati-607484">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/potpisi-valjani-referendum-za-brak-moze-se-raspisati-607484</a>
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file2879003	<a href="http://www.24sata.hr/news/u-ime-obitelji-bez-pitanja-uzeli-fotografiju-iranske-umjetnice-341372">http://www.24sata.hr/news/u-ime-obitelji-bez-pitanja-uzeli-fotografiju-iranske-umjetnice-341372</a>
file2878928	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/poslusajte-raspravu-izmedju-lgbt-udruga-i-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-585563">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/poslusajte-raspravu-izmedju-lgbt-udruga-i-inicijative-u-ime-obitelji-585563</a>
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file2878643	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/11/predaja-potpisa/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/11/predaja-potpisa/</a>
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file2879048	<a href="http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5051-referendumi-koji-kre-ljudska-prava-bit-e-zabranjeni-sp-312">http://www.crol.hr/index.php/politika-aktivizam/5051-referendumi-koji-kre-ljudska-prava-bit-e-zabranjeni-sp-312</a>
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file2878913	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/12/stier-o-referendumu-gradani-su-se-izborili-da-se-njihov-glas-cuje/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2014/03/12/stier-o-referendumu-gradani-su-se-izborili-da-se-njihov-glas-cuje/</a>
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file2878890	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/vecernji-list-nece-izvjestavati-iz-stozera-u-ime-obitelji-906105">http://www.vecernji.hr/za-i-protiv/vecernji-list-nece-izvjestavati-iz-stozera-u-ime-obitelji-906105</a>
file2405741	<a href="http://www.antenazadar.hr/clanak/2014/06/Željka-MarkiĆ-sada-pokrece-referendum-za-promjenu-izbornog-zakona/">http://www.antenazadar.hr/clanak/2014/06/Željka-MarkiĆ-sada-pokrece-referendum-za-promjenu-izbornog-zakona/</a>
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file2878685	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/22/zoran-sprajc-nagraden-za-vrijedanje-pretplatnika-javne-televizije-koji-podupiru-gradansku-inicijativu-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/06/22/zoran-sprajc-nagraden-za-vrijedanje-pretplatnika-javne-televizije-koji-podupiru-gradansku-inicijativu-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
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file2878631	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/31/Zeljka-Markic-osoba-godine/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/31/Zeljka-Markic-osoba-godine/</a>
file2405631	<a href="http://www.libela.org/vijesti/5339-u-ime-obitelji-ne-odustaje/">http://www.libela.org/vijesti/5339-u-ime-obitelji-ne-odustaje/</a>
file2878814	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199568/1/Osuda-napada-na-aktiviste-U-ime-obitelji">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/199568/1/Osuda-napada-na-aktiviste-U-ime-obitelji</a>
file2405536	<a href="http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/gornji-dom-njemackog-parlamenta-trazi-istospolni-brak-i-pravo-na-posvajanje-djece/825219.aspx">http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/gornji-dom-njemackog-parlamenta-trazi-istospolni-brak-i-pravo-na-posvajanje-djece/825219.aspx</a>
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file2878676	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/18/trazimo-nepriistrano-tocno-informiranje-svih-hrvatskih-biraca-o-referendumu/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/18/trazimo-nepriistrano-tocno-informiranje-svih-hrvatskih-biraca-o-referendumu/</a>
file2405806	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/zvijezde/dg-razbjesnili-gay-zajednicu-elton-john-pozvao-da-ih-se-bojkotira-995152">http://www.vecernji.hr/zvijezde/dg-razbjesnili-gay-zajednicu-elton-john-pozvao-da-ih-se-bojkotira-995152</a>
file2878730	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ispravno-896-posto-potpisa-dovoljno-za-referendum-612029">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ispravno-896-posto-potpisa-dovoljno-za-referendum-612029</a>
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file2878835	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/hns-neprijereno-je-da-bandic-prostor-daje-udruzi-koja-promice-netoleranciju-902883">http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/hns-neprijereno-je-da-bandic-prostor-daje-udruzi-koja-promice-netoleranciju-902883</a>

file2878831	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216485/1/Za-raspisivanje-referenduma-trebalo-bi-biti-dovoljno-pet-posto-potpisa-biraca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216485/1/Za-raspisivanje-referenduma-trebalo-bi-biti-dovoljno-pet-posto-potpisa-biraca</a>
file2878878	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/10/papa-franjo-izrazio-zadovoljstvo-zastitom-vrednote-braka-u-hrvatskoj/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/10/papa-franjo-izrazio-zadovoljstvo-zastitom-vrednote-braka-u-hrvatskoj/</a>
file2879082	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/deseci-tisuca-ljudi-potpisalo-se-za-referendum-o-definiciji-braka-552388">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/deseci-tisuca-ljudi-potpisalo-se-za-referendum-o-definiciji-braka-552388</a>
file2405706	<a href="http://www.udajemse.hr/savjeti/sklapanje-braka/u-hrvatskoj-sklopljen-prvi-istospolni-brak/a678">http://www.udajemse.hr/savjeti/sklapanje-braka/u-hrvatskoj-sklopljen-prvi-istospolni-brak/a678</a>
file2879058	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/248262/1/Za-referendum-se-dosad-izjasnilo-150000-biraca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/248262/1/Za-referendum-se-dosad-izjasnilo-150000-biraca</a>
file2878880	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/21/potpora-rijeckih-vjerskih-zajednica-i-udruga-gradanskoj-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/21/potpora-rijeckih-vjerskih-zajednica-i-udruga-gradanskoj-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji/</a>
file2879016	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/bacaju-kontru-skupljaju-potpise-da-odrezu-porez-crkvi-557627">http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/bacaju-kontru-skupljaju-potpise-da-odrezu-porez-crkvi-557627</a>
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file2879080	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/222087/1/Bozanic-Papa-je-zadovoljan-ishodom-referenduma">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/222087/1/Bozanic-Papa-je-zadovoljan-ishodom-referenduma</a>
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file2405522	<a href="http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/209310/merkel-registrirano-partnerstvo-da-ali-brak-sklapaju-muskarac-i-zena/2">http://www.index.hr/indexforum/postovi/209310/merkel-registrirano-partnerstvo-da-ali-brak-sklapaju-muskarac-i-zena/2</a>
file2878675	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/13/majcin-dan-pocetak-potpisivanja-za-referendum/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/13/majcin-dan-pocetak-potpisivanja-za-referendum/</a>
file2878869	<a href="http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/uimeobiteljska-televizija">http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/uimeobiteljska-televizija</a>
file2878670	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/strikoman-u-akciji-milenijska-fotografija-za-u-ime-obitelji-904784">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/strikoman-u-akciji-milenijska-fotografija-za-u-ime-obitelji-904784</a>
file2405608	<a href="http://www.e-novine.com/drustvo/108856-Zagrebu-sklopljeno-prvo-ivotno-partnerstvo.html">http://www.e-novine.com/drustvo/108856-Zagrebu-sklopljeno-prvo-ivotno-partnerstvo.html</a>
file2878988	<a href="http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/i-agrokor-je-protiv-cirilice">http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/i-agrokor-je-protiv-cirilice</a>

file2879132	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/11/ustav-rh-brak-je-zivotna-zajednica-zene-muskarca/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/11/ustav-rh-brak-je-zivotna-zajednica-zene-muskarca/</a>
file2878692	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217747/1/Temeljno-politicko-i-svjetonazorsko-pitanje">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/217747/1/Temeljno-politicko-i-svjetonazorsko-pitanje</a>
file2878723	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/15/rodino-iskoristavanje-samohranih-roditelja-u-kampanji-protiv-referenduma/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/15/rodino-iskoristavanje-samohranih-roditelja-u-kampanji-protiv-referenduma/</a>
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file2405590	<a href="http://www.telegram.hr/zivot/glumac-iz-moderne-obitelji-skuplja-svadbene-pozivnice-gay-parova-pa-ih-salje-ustavnom-sudu/">http://www.telegram.hr/zivot/glumac-iz-moderne-obitelji-skuplja-svadbene-pozivnice-gay-parova-pa-ih-salje-ustavnom-sudu/</a>
file2878964	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/261065/1/Optuznica-protiv-Bandica">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/261065/1/Optuznica-protiv-Bandica</a>
file2405627	<a href="http://europa.eu/youreurope/citizens/family/couple/marriage/faq/index_hr.htm">http://europa.eu/youreurope/citizens/family/couple/marriage/faq/index_hr.htm</a>
file2878874	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/202053/1/Markić-Na-potezu-je-Sabor">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/202053/1/Markić-Na-potezu-je-Sabor</a>
file2405724	<a href="http://www.gosucker.com/1/Hrvatska/0/1/Vijesti/3/Jutarnjih/OZAKONILI-SMO-%c5%a0EST-GODINA-LJUBAVI-Mi-sklapamo-partnerstvo,-ne-brak-Brak-je-za-hetero-parove,-a-mi-imamo-svoju-vrstu-zajednice-269649.html">http://www.gosucker.com/1/Hrvatska/0/1/Vijesti/3/Jutarnjih/OZAKONILI-SMO-%c5%a0EST-GODINA-LJUBAVI-Mi-sklapamo-partnerstvo,-ne-brak-Brak-je-za-hetero-parove,-a-mi-imamo-svoju-vrstu-zajednice-269649.html</a>
file2878797	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/256877/1/U-ime-obitelji-Mrtvi-i-dalje-na-popisima">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/256877/1/U-ime-obitelji-Mrtvi-i-dalje-na-popisima</a>
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file2405839	<a href="http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/835629/gay-parovi-ostvarili-popust-na-obiteljske-ulaznice/">http://www.rtl.hr/vijesti/novosti/835629/gay-parovi-ostvarili-popust-na-obiteljske-ulaznice/</a>
file2878860	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/zvijezde/marko-perkovic-thompson-dao-potpis-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji-554363">http://www.vecernji.hr/zvijezde/marko-perkovic-thompson-dao-potpis-inicijativi-u-ime-obitelji-554363</a>
file2879114	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/07/odbor-za-ustav-poslusao-ustavni-sud/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/11/07/odbor-za-ustav-poslusao-ustavni-sud/</a>
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file2879072	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216364/1/Referendum-ne-ide-na-Ustavni-sud">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216364/1/Referendum-ne-ide-na-Ustavni-sud</a>
file2878847	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/17/375-tisuca-potpisa-potrebno-za-referendum/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/05/17/375-tisuca-potpisa-potrebno-za-referendum/</a>
file2878637	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216875/1/Markić-Referendum-je-prilika-da-zaustavimo-teror">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216875/1/Markić-Referendum-je-prilika-da-zaustavimo-teror</a>
file2878803	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/252142/1/Vlada-mora-znati-stvaran-broj-biraca">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/252142/1/Vlada-mora-znati-stvaran-broj-biraca</a>
file2879027	<a href="http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/14/veliki-pad-tiskane-naklade-jutarnjeg-lista/">http://referendumobraku.uimeobitelji.net/2013/12/14/veliki-pad-tiskane-naklade-jutarnjeg-lista/</a>
file2878863	<a href="http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/blanka-i-josko-vlasic-za-brak-muskarca-i-zene-555757">http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/blanka-i-josko-vlasic-za-brak-muskarca-i-zene-555757</a>
file2878872	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218439/1/Stozer-uvjeren-da-je-skupio-dovoljno-potpisa">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/218439/1/Stozer-uvjeren-da-je-skupio-dovoljno-potpisa</a>
file2879051	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216494/4/HDSSB-o-referendumu-o-braku">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/216494/4/HDSSB-o-referendumu-o-braku</a>
file2879042	<a href="http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/227287/1/U-ime-obitelji-na-EU-izborima">http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/227287/1/U-ime-obitelji-na-EU-izborima</a>

### Appendix III: URL list for the international media reports corpus

file2406083	<a href="http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/Review/responses/CROATIA-English.pdf">http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/Review/responses/CROATIA-English.pdf</a>
file2406149	<a href="http://inavukic.com/2013/11/25/croatia-ex-communist-camp-engages-oppression-in-marriage-referendum/">http://inavukic.com/2013/11/25/croatia-ex-communist-camp-engages-oppression-in-marriage-referendum/</a>
file2755330	<a href="http://inavukic.com/2013/12/02/croatia-sparks-fly-as-referendum-bans-same-sex-marriage/">http://inavukic.com/2013/12/02/croatia-sparks-fly-as-referendum-bans-same-sex-marriage/</a>
file2406082	<a href="http://genderindex.org/country/croatia">http://genderindex.org/country/croatia</a>
file2406143	<a href="http://archive.globalgayz.com/europe/croatia/gay-croatia-news-and-reports-2010/">http://archive.globalgayz.com/europe/croatia/gay-croatia-news-and-reports-2010/</a>
file2755452	<a href="http://downwithtyranny.blogspot.co.uk/2013/12/bob-dylan-was-right-about-croats-most.html">http://downwithtyranny.blogspot.co.uk/2013/12/bob-dylan-was-right-about-croats-most.html</a>
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